F. No. 20/47 Eur/1947

178-pages

Ministry of External Affairs
& Commonwealth Relations

SECRET.

SECRET
KEEP

File No. 20(4)-EUR/47.

1947.

Collection No.

Secret

Ministry of External Affairs
and Commonwealth Relations.

DOWNGRADED

To be kept as part of record. Wenkel 29.3.47

Pres. / Serial Nos. 1-69.

Subject.

Exchange of diplomatic missions between India and the USSR.

Appointment of Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit as Ambassador for India in Russia.

Previous References.

7.201(12)-T.E./46.
7.201(8) T-E. 146.
7.207-X/46

Later References.

7.2(6)-Pt(i)/47

राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार को वापस
Return to National Archives of India

(Unbleached).

M[illegible] S&P—6862-A—[illegible]—23-2-48—20,00,000

Copy of notes from Food Department file bearing Dy. No.308/S-46

RICE FROM RUSSIA.

In the open assembly of the United Nations Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar early this year made a very strong and direct appeal to the Russian Delegation to send food to India. This elicited no response whatsoever. On the 15th March 1946 the Food Department telegraphed to the Secretary of State for India in London saying that the matter had been raised in the Central Legislative Assembly on a Press Report that Russia might prove a potential source of rice. We had replied in the Assembly that we had seen the Press Report, but had not yet made any direct approach to Russia, and that any formal approach to Russia must be through His Majesty's Government. The Government of India spokeman in the Assembly agreed to take the matter up with H.M.G. to see whether H.M.G. thought any special action necessary or possible by way of approach to Russia. The telegram requested H.M.G. to take the matter up. On the 18th April the Secretary of State replied that the Foreign Office were making enquiries from Moscow, but that information in London indicated that there was, at that time, no likelihood of any rice being available for export from Russia, and that Russia in the past had been a net importer of Rice. The Secretary of State added that the Press Report which had given rise to the question in the Legislative Assembly was based on information published in Moscow regarding experimental research into the development of new varieties of rice, with a view to increasing future production.

2. In reply to this telegram we said that although the Assembly question related only to rice, we requested that the Foreign Office would make enquiries in respect of other cereals also, particularly wheat. On the 8th May 1946 we received a reply from the Secreatry of State which said that the Embassy in Moscow confirmed that although the current position as regards rice production in Russia was obscure, it was unlikely that there would be any available for export. They said that the pre-war productio mostly in Uzbekistan, Kasakhstan and Azerbaigan was about 300,000 tons. There had probably been an increase during the war in Central Asia, at the expense of cotton, to feed refugees,

-2-but as there had been pressure ~~xx~~ but as there had been pressure subsequently to get cotton production going again, it was unlikely that the war-time increase in rice production had been maintained. They said that both Ukraine and Belo Russia had applied to Unrra for rice supplies, which indicated that there was no available surplus. Moreover, if there were ~~a~~ surplus, the difficulty of moving any significant amount to a port would be very great.

3. The Embassy noted that the appeal for assistance made by the Indian Delegate at the General Assembly of the United Nations had received no response.

4. The Food Department were advised that a further purely diplomatic approach was probably inadvisable, and that it was better to consider whether any supplies could be obtained from Russia in return for some commodity which Russia needed from India. An opportunity offered to do this in connection with a Russian ~~xxxx~~ request for an allotment of ~~xxx~~ 5,000 tons of Jute goods, and a Conference on the subject was held with the Commerce Department, at which the Secretary External Affairs Department was also present. A copy of the proceedings is attached. (Flag A)

5. The Commerce Department then put the matter to Mr. Elshin, the Trade Agent of the USSR in India, and the Commerce Department received a letter from Mr. Elshin dated the 21st August 1946, in which he said "I beg to advise you that I have already requested the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. to expedite their reply regarding the possibility of the import of food grains to India and as soon as I receive their reply I shall let you know immediately". This indicated that he has put the matter to his own Government. Our information is that for the half year ending on the 25th December, Russia has been allotted by the Commerce Department a quota of 7,500 tons of raw jute, and 2,500 tons of jute goods, and that their request for an increase in these allotments will be considered only after the reaction to our request for foodgrains is known.

6. The above summarises the position so far. I am not competent to advise H.M. as to what would be the prospects of a Mission to the U.S.S.R. That is a matter on which we should consult the External Affairs Department. Whether or not , the

Russians would be willing to receive a Mission, I cannot say.

7. Whether they receive a Mission or not, it seems to me unlikely that we would get any significant quantity of rice. We might get some wheat, but I doubt the possibility of its arriving in this country in sufficient quantities, or in sufficient time really to affect our position in October and November. If it so happened that there were stocks of grain at Odessa, which the Russians were prepared to release at once, there might be some hope of getting it in time, but I rather suspect that their surplus stocks of wheat there have been dissipated by the offer to France. Presumably, new crop wheat in Russia would mature in September. How quickly they could get new crop wheat down to the ports, I cannot say.

Sd/- R.H.Hutchings
3.9.46

I think we should try to expedite approach to Russia. We must ask Mr. Elshin to expedite a reply to our previous letter. We must in the meantime ask the Foreign Affairs Department to consider this matter and take it up as soon as possible.

Sd/- Rajendra Prasad
4.9.46

Will D.S.P. kindly convey to Secretary Commerce Department, with my compliments, H.M.Food's comment that we should ask Mr. Elshin to expedite a reply to his letter to the Government of the U.S.S.R. regarding the possibility of food supplies from Russia to India.

Will D.S.P. also send these papers to the External Affairs Department (Mr.Weightman by name) for advice on the alternative suggestions:

(a) that a further diplomatic approach to Russia should be made through H.M.G., and

(b) that a Mission should be sent from India to Russia.

Sd/- R.H.Hutchings
4.9.46

E.A.Department (Mr. Weightman)
Food Department u.o. No. 308/S-46 dated the 4.9.46.

H.M. Spoke to me this morning about the possibility of a direct approach from himself to M.Molotov with the request to send wheat to India. I asked for time to consider what advice I should give and I will now state the relevant factors as I see them in this note below. Before H.M. reads the note perhaps it would interest him to go through Sir Robert Hutchings' note of 3.9.46 at Pp.1-3 ante. Since obviously in considering a matter of this nature one would wish to ~~appreciate~~ as accurately as possible what surpluses Russia might have from their present harvest to pass to us, I enquired from Sir Robert Hutchings if he could give any further information on this particular issue. Unfortunately he was not able to do so and he tells me there is no genuine information as to the standard of the present Russian harvest, though his impression is that even if it is a good harvest there ~~would~~ will be no genuine surpluses. It is conceivable that there might be a local surplus, due to transport and distribution difficulties inside the U.S.S.R., but unless these happen to be at Odessa or some other port, they would be of little interest to us. I need only add on this issue that all information available for the past few months has made it only too clear that Russian occupation forces have lived on the produce of the occupied territories and have in all probability exported certain quantities of foodstuffs from those territories to Russia. One must note that this was a factor in enabling the U.S.S.R. to promise a certain amount of Odessa wheat to France a few months ago, though the impression to be gained from such intelligence as is available is that the full quantity promised to France was never sent.

2. Russia has hitherto stood out from any international organization for pooling and distributing food grains. There are two possible reasons for this; first that they have nothing to contribute, or second that they were determined to preserve any surpluses that might accrue for use in ~~the~~ a manner that might produce political advantage. The latter explains the French deal. A further effort is now, I understand, being made to draw Russia into an international organization ~~of~~ for food distribution and it is this idea which is behind the conception of the World Food Board. If Russia is prepared to display a genuine international spirit in respect of any food surpluses which she may have, it is questionable whether

whether it is wise for India to divert her thoughts to a direct deal. Let us recollect that any supplies that might come to us from Russia as a result of the direct deal would quite definitely be taken into account when allocations are made by the I.E.F.C. or the proposed successor, the World Food Board. In other words, we should ultimately be no better off.

3. We must also recollect that Russia made no response to the appeal made to them on India's behalf before the General Assembly at its London meeting, and on post-war form one can only deduce that Russia makes no effort to assist any other country unless she sees a direct political advantage in doing so. It may be argued that we in India could counter any Soviet effort to secure a countervailing advantage in return for wheat supplied, whether that advantage be in the political, economic or any other field; but the Russians are determined and aggressive bargainers, and I fear that the very urgency of our need would determine them to raise their bid. This is not the time, I suggest, to invite the impact of an aggressive ideology in this country, in whatever form that impact takes.

4. In brief therefore it seems to me from such evidence as is available that we stand little prospect of securing significant quantities of food grains from Russia within an appropriate space of time, and that such supplies as we might receive would be secured at a price, political or otherwise, which would be seriously damaging. If we knew definitely of the existence of genuine surpluses and if there were another background against which to view this problem, one might be prepared to take risks; but those two very important factors are in the one case unknown and in the other adverse.

5. The case is one of much importance and if it is H.M's wish to pursue it, I suggest it be sent to H.E. with H.M's views and with the proposal that it be taken in Council.

6. If it is decided to proceed it is, I think, necessary in the light of the present constitutional position and as a

matter of practical advantage to consult H.M.G. Given the present constitution of the H.M.G in the U.K there is no reason to suppose that their response will be anything but sympathetic and helpful.

5.9.46.
(H.Weightman,Secy.)

FOODGRAINS FROM RUSSIA.

I have read Sir Robert Hutchings' note of the 3rd September and Mr. Weightman's note of the 5th September. The first point is whether any surplus foodgrains exist in Russia, which can be sent to India. Sir Robert Hutchings' note is headed "RICE FROM RUSSIA". I should imagine that wheat was a more likely commodity in Russia. We do not seem to know much about the position in Russia, but there are some reasons to think that the last harvest was a good one and that there may be an exportable surplus of wheat.

It is apparent from the record that Russian authorities have not been eager to co-operate in this matter, and we are still awaiting a final reply to the message sent to ~~the~~ this Government by Mr. Elshin, the Trade Agent of the U.S.S.R. in India. I understand that the Commerce Department sent a reminder to him by telegram yesterday.

Normally, the proper course will be to find out how the matter stood at the other end and then to take necessary steps, if any. But the difficulty arises owing to the delays and the lack of response of the Russain Government. This is no doubt due to political reasons which influence Russian policy considerably. The question before us too ultimately resolves itself into a political one. Is it desirable to approach Russia directly on a high level and ask the Soviet Government to send us foodgrains? It is possible that there may be no response at all though I think this is highly unlikely, or there may be delay in our receiving an answer. It has been suggested that the answer or a lack of answer may not be in keeping with our dignity or self-respect. There is something in that, but on the whole I do not see any reason why another party's lack of courtesy should prevent us from taking a step which might yield possible results.

Even from the political point of view I think it is desirable that some kind of approach should be made by the

Interim Government to the Soviet Government. It should be a friendly approach though necessarily confined to matters of food. That would not commit us in any way in regard to other matters and at the same time it will show to the Soviet Government that the Indian Government in power is prepared to deal with it in a friendly manner. This might have ~~big~~ good results and cannot have bad results.

In the natural course of events India should deal directly with a great country like the Soviet Union which lies on its borders whether we approve of its policy or not. A time is bound to come when we shall have diplomatic representatives there and the Soviet Government will have its own representatives here. If that is so, then the sooner we deal with them directly, the better, and thus pave the way for further contacts on the diplomatic level. How best to bring about these contacts is a matter for consideration. It may be desirable to send a small mission to Russia to sound the Soviet Government both in regard to the food situation and the political situation. Even if this is desirable, some kind of direct telegraphic contact will have to precede it.

I suggest, therefore, that quite apart from the various considerations mentioned in Sir Robert Hutchings' note and Mr. Weightman's note, it would be worth while for us to approach directly and on a high level the Soviet Government and ask them for foodgrains. Their reply - or a lack of reply - will itself help us to frame our future policy in regard to them. This matter is of obvious importance, as the Secretary, E.A.D., has pointed out, because of its larger implications. It should therefore be considered by the full Cabinet in a meeting. The matter might also be referred, as suggested, to H.M.G.. The Hon'ble Member for Food should be informed of this.

J Nehru

6. 9. 46.

Secretary (Mr. Weightman)

P.S. 27/46 dated 6.9.46.

E.A.Deptt. Sup H

A draft Summary is placed below which it is requested may be submitted to H.E. the Governor-General for approval for consideration in the Cabinet at the earliest possible moment.

Say Food Dept. confirms its accuracy from its Food Note angle

2. H.E. may be interested to read the notes from page 4 above.

3. I propose to make a request for a special meeting of the Cabinet to discuss this and other cases Summaries of which are now under preparation.

H Weightman
9.9.46.
(H.Weightman, For.Secy.)

Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat (Mr. H. M. Patel)
E.A.Dt. U.O. No. D. 1281-X/46, Dt 11.9.46

Approved
W 11/9/46

CABINET SECRETARIAT.

H.E. has approved of circulation of the case with a view to its being taken in the Cabinet at a special meeting to be held at 10-30 a.m. on Monday, the 16th September.

(H.M.Patel).
12.9.46.

D. No. 50-X/46
Ant. S
12/9

Secy. E.A.Department (Mr. Weightman)
C.S. u/o. No. 1058/CS/46. D/12.9.46.

External Affairs Department.

Twenty five copies of the Summary for Council are put up.

Ali Mustafa
13.9.46
for Under Secretary.

COUNCIL SECRETARIAT
File No.
13 SEP 1946
Dy. No. 3021/CS/46

Cabinet Secretariat (Mr. E.C. Donoghue)
E.A. Deptt. u.o. No. D.1310-X/46, dated 13.9.46.

CABINET SECRETARIAT.

The Summary has been circulated to Honourable Members.

D. 1354 - X/46
14/9
Ant. S
14/9

E.A.Dept.
C.S. u/o. No. 1068/CS/46. D/13.9.46.

E. C. Donoghue
13. 9. 46

J.S.(F)
(Major Brichton)
16/9/46

Notes in the E.A. Department.

This case was discussed at a Cabinet meeting this morning and it was agreed that action should be taken on the lines indicated in the last paragraph of the summary. The draft of a telegram which we propose to address to H.M.G. is placed below. Before this is submitted for approval to the Hon'ble Member for External Affairs I should be grateful for the concurrence or comments of Food Department as a matter of great urgency. The telegram referred to in the first paragraph was addressed to Food Department and as we have not

got a copy ? should be grateful if the correctness of this reference could be checked.

Immediate in the morning by name by Special Messenger

16. 9. 1946.
(G.C.L. Crichton).

Food Department (Sir Robert Hutchings).

Cipher No. 3. 1254-x/46 Dtd. 16-9-46.

It is correct.

Rob. Hutchings

1769:

F.A. Dept. (Major Crichton).

The draft telegram below is the MAP's approval

Mitchell

17.9.46.

MAP.

HM approves.

Colleorum
17/9/46

Secretary [Mr Crichton]

Some advance. Usual distribution including Food Dept

Mitchell

17.9.46.

D. 1403 X-3 — x/46
17.9

Issue (1) — cover p. 1

E. A Deptt.

D. No. 1523-X/46 (2)

For information at present. we may await the telegram referred to in para 4 of F.R., Meanwhile Food Deptt. has requested to kindly send to us a copy of S/S's telegram No. 8732 of May 8, 1946, referred to in the F.R. ~~to be expected. Deptt. should before be expected.~~

a/s. 23.9.46. Jnl. 23.9.46

~~21.S.(X) D.S.(L.R.)~~

Copy Attlee. 23.9.46.

The telegram referred to in para 4 of F.R has arrived + F.S. has ordered that a copy should be placed on this file. I shd like to see a copy too.

2. Replies have issued today, I understand, + copies shd be distributed at least to officers dealing with XBr & to the Branch itself.

H. Dayal 23.9.46

~~US(X)~~ 24/9

2X 23/9

(3) Done.

D.No. 1557-X/46 (3)

Submitted. In this connection please see S.No.(2). The F.R. is marked 'Top Secret'. It may perhaps be downgraded to 'Secret'.

a/s 24.9.46 Jnl. 24.9.46

As s/s. Law classified F.R. as Top Secret I think file should remain Top Secret.

~~21.S.(X) D.S.(L.R.)~~

Copy Attlee 24-9-46

I agree with US. This shd remain Top Secret for the time being at any rate. Both the tels. issued yesterday shd be added to this file.

H. Dayal 25.9.46

(4) + (5) Done

L.L.B. to note para. 2 of D.S.(L.R.)'s note dated 23.9.46 Jnl. 24/9/46

B 25/9

US(X) 25/9

(4) + (5) Done

E. A. Deptt

D. No. 1590-x/46 (6) Four pp. 8-9

Extract to file(s).

Sd/- G. C. L. Crichton
23.9.46.

For information only.

eafs. 26.9.46 AM. 26.9.46

Capt. Wills 26.9.46. U.S. (X)

Ind. S. 26/9

External Affairs Department.

Following is an extract from a personal telegram dated the 29th September received by H.M. from Mr. Krishna Menon:-

" Saw Molotov Saturday ninetyfive minutes. Conveyed your messages. Impressed acute food situation which equally appreciated. Response entirely dependent their resources. Russia rationing bread. Southwest granary suffered drought 1946 scarcity. However these preliminary reactions. Molotov conveying position Government. Immediate prespects do not appear hopeful but entire good will and trust assistance forthcoming later. Molotov will reply precise terms after consultation Mowcow personally."

The above is passed to Food Department for information.

Sd/= G.C.L. Crichton.
1.X.46.
Foreign Secretary.

Food Department. (Mr. Sir R. Hutchings.)
External Affairs Deptt. U/O. No. D. -X/46, dated 2.X.46.

D. No. 1776-x/46 (7) — cons. p. 10

D. No. 1793-x/46 (8) — cons. pp. 11-13

D. No. 1811- x/46 (9) — " p. 14

D. No. 1818 - x/46 (10) — " p. 15

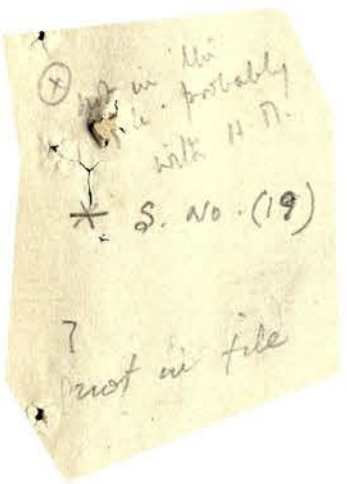
For information only. A copy of SKto (10). is being placed on the file regarding ~~Diplomatic~~ Exchange of Diplomatic representatives with USSR.
ees/S.
8.x.46 8.X.46

cf. pp. 19-22 infra

Minuted on file HM. Three draft telegrams below & cons.

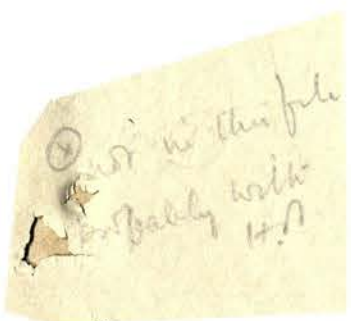
(11) to (13) Jones 8/x/46.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

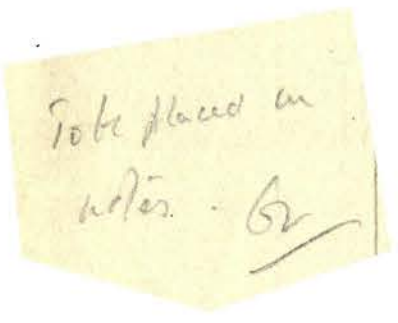


I have received through Mr.Krishna Menon a letter from M.Molotov in reply to my message to him.

2. In a previous message it was stated that M.Molotov had invited Mr.Krishna Menon to visit Moscow at the end of November to have further talks. We have requested Mr.Krishna Menon to accept this invitation and to go to Moscow at the end of November. Meanwhile he is visiting New York as an alternate delegate for the U.N.O. General Assembly meeting.



3. A copy of M.Molotov's letter together with this note should be circulated to the Members of the Cabinet and H.E.



Sd. J.Nehru,

8 . 10 . 46.

S. No. (14) -16-

Reference telegram No.698 dated the 18th September from Sir G.S.Bajpai.

The U.S.S.R. recently withheld approval from(or applied its veto to - whichever phrase is preferred) the applications by Portugal, Eire and Transjordan for admission to the United Nations, on the ground that the U.S.S.R. was not in diplomatic relations with those countries.

That action was of course taken in the Security Council, the only forum in which Great Power unanimity is required(or, alternatively, where the Great Powers enjoy their veto privilege), whereas the election to the Security Council will take place in the General Assembly. The U.S.S.R. could therefore not veto India's candidature. She does however control a formidable bloc of votes in the General Assembly, and what has been put forward as sufficient reason for U.S.S.R. opposition once could be so again; there is therefore something in Sir G.S.Bajpai's argument.

On the other hand, if the U.S.S.R. is not prepared to support India's candidature she need not seek excuse for her attitude: there is in fact no need for her to do anything more than vote for some other country. I myself therefore do not feel that over-much attention need be paid to this argument in relation to the general issue of an exchange of diplomatic representatives with Moscow. A sounder argument would be that U.S.S.R.(and satellites') support would perhaps be obtained if India were now, on the eve of the election, to flatter Russia by a request for an exchange of representatives. The question is primarily one for the Territorial Branch to deal with.

D.No. 1520-X/46 (14) - cont'd p. 16

D.No. 1500-X/46 (15)

~~D.No. 1520-X/46~~ ~~(2)~~ ~~(14)~~ cont'd p. 17

(L. A. C. FRY)
21. 9. 46.

Para 1 of S.No.(14). C. & C. Branch are dealing with this portion.

Para 2 of S.No. (14), S.No. (15), & D.S.(CC)'s note above. Submitted

(the question of exchange of diplomatic representatives between India & USSR. does not appear to have been considered before.) In this connection it may be mentioned that on receiving information from the S/S, London that a Soviet citizen wanted visa to come to India to join the Soviet Trade Agency, Calcutta, we suggested to H.M.G. that the question of regularization of the

D.1578-X/46
X Br.

D. 201(12)-EE/46

Soviet Trade Agency and an assurance from the Soviet Govt. to the effect that they will receive an Indian Trade Commissioner and accord him facilities on reciprocal basis whenever Govt. of India decide to appoint one, may be taken up with the Soviet Govt. H.M.G. then advised that no useful purpose could be served by asking the Soviet Govt. for the assurances as the latter do not take their stand on the principle of reciprocity but on that of most favoured nation treatment. H.M.G. therefore suggested that the question of the regularisation of position of Soviet Trade Agency should be taken up when the Govt. of India decided to send trade representatives to Moscow. Our file on this subject has been referred to Home Department under u.o. No. 1457-X/46 dated the 20th September, 1946. On that file Commerce Department have said that they are considering the question of appointment of an Indian Trade Commissioner at Moscow. ~~Perhaps, Commerce Department may see and be asked kindly to expedite consideration of the matter.~~

ec/S 23.9.46 M.M. 24/9/46

6.6.Bx. Bd. 24/9
M. S. (X)
D.S. (L.R.)

Reference above noting. The exchange of trade representatives has little to do with the exchange of diplomatic representatives. It is obvious that in future, India must have diplomatic representation in Moscow. Up till now, the new Indian Government have had no direct recognition from the USSR apart from comments in the local Russian newspapers. H.M.'s approach to the Soviet Government on the question of assistance from the USSR to India in her critical situation as regards food is an initial step towards discovering what the USSR's policy towards the new Indian Government is likely to be.

It seems that we should await a reply from the Soviet Government before considering further the question of diplomatic representation.

Reference Sir G.S.Bajpai's telegrams Nos.698 and 699 dated the 18th September, 1946. We might perhaps inform him that the question of the reciprocal exchange of diplomatic representatives with the USSR is under consideration.

C.S.B. Akalon.

25.9.1946

D.S.(L.R.)

-3-

I have added, at slip J, copies of telegrams exchanged with H.M.G. regarding the procurement of foodgrains from Russia, in which the possibility of an exchange of diplomatic representatives is touched upon. The matter is one which will require careful thinking in the light of any indication that we may get of the Soviet attitude to India; and it is impossible to proceed as speedily as Sir G.S. Bajpai would like us to do.

2. D.S. (CC) has already pointed out that the question of the veto is not involved and that if the U.S.S.R. wishes to oppose India's candidature for the Security Council, she need not put forward any excuse. In any event the present case does not afford an exact parallel with that of the candidature of Eire, etc., for the U.N.O. because the U.S.S.R. did not object to India's admission to that body on the ground that she has no diplomatic relations with India, and she could not logically put forward this argument in respect of India's desire for a seat on the Security Council.

H. Dayal
25.9.46.

D.S. (X).

I think that if H.M. approves Sir G.S. Bajpai should be informed, for his own information only at present, of so important a development as H.M.'s approach to M. Molotov. This would be a sufficient reply to Sir G.S.'s suggestion. I put up a draft for consideration.

25/9/46.

JS. (X) 26/9
DS(LR) 26/9
Two draft telegrams as to

26/9

26/9/46 Secretary

H.M. has approved of the draft telegram.
25/9/46

(16) (17) Annex

Reversed cf SNo(10)

D. No. 1817-X/46 {Same as SNo (10)}

Submitted with reference to the last portion of the F.R.

ees 8.X.46 Mj 8.X.46

Copy may be sent to Sir G.S. Bajpai, by routine, for information with reference to S No. 3.

Action is also required on A of F.R. Secy. Attlee. 8-10-46

H.M. has already replied to SNo (5) & a copy of his telegram should be placed on the file — there are other pp. also about Mr. Krishna Menon's meeting with M. Molotov which should be ~~added~~ amalgamated with these.

DS (1R)

2. Issue the draft S.L. herewith to HC Washington.

H. Dayal 9.10.46

S. Nos. (10), (16) & (20) — Receipts

Mr. Krishna Menon's letters dated the 30th September 1946 and his personal and confidential note dated the 28th September 1946 giving an account of his interview with M. Molotov have been placed on the file. The report of his interview with M.Molotov is particularly interesting. Mr. Menon says that M.Molotov said that it was a historic interview and he would issue a statement in the Soviet Union about it. H.M.G's Ambassador in Moscow, however, has said that not a word about the interview appeared in the Soviet Press and a correspondent who wanted to send ~~down~~ out a report about it was not allowed to do so.

(16) + (19) (17) + (18)

S.N. 6 ✓

S.N. 8 (20) ×

2. Mr. Menon discussed with M.Molotov various matters such as exchange of press-men, experts, students etc. These are of course matters which need to be dealt with in a regular manner by a regular diplomatic representative. H.M. thinks that our first step should now be to approach the Soviet Government for exchange of Ambassadors and, before doing so, ask HMG for their concurrence. I place a draft telegram below for the Secretary of State for India.

3. Mr. Krishna Menon has been invited by M.Molotov to go to moscow at the end of November and to continue their talks. H.M. thinks that the invitation should be accepted. Perhaps an official request for the exchange of diplomatic missions might be made through Mr. Krishna Menon; and he might be designated Special Emissary of the Government of India to Moscow. Pending the appointment of an Ambassador Mr. Menon's impressions of Moscow and its personalities will be interesting. He might also look into such matters as the accommodation available, and the staff required, for our Ambassador at Moscow.

4. H.M. might like to mention this matter to his colleagues and to H.E.

K.P.S.Menon
(K.P.S. Menon)
10.10.46.

I agree. When Mr Krishna Menon goes to Moscow he should be provided with instructions and a brief. This immediate business will be to discuss preliminaries in regard to exchange of diplomatic representatives: other matters should be considered later when this exchange has been effected. They may be informally discussed previously. In view of M. Molotov's friendly letter to me and his invitation to Mr Krishna Menon, it is desirable that we follow this up in the manner indicated.

I have already mentioned the matter to my colleagues in the Cabinet. I shall discuss it further with them. I shall also mention it to H.E.

J Nehru 10/10/46

H.M.'s note on p. 20 ante.

I have discussed this case with Mr. Menon and with H.M. I suggested that before following up M. Molotov's informal indication of his Government's readiness to exchange diplomatic missions with India and the further proposal that Mr. Krishna Menon should visit Moscow in November as a Special Emissary from the Govt. of India, we should await the receipt of M. Molotov's official letter which, vide the first paragraph of ~~S.N. 5~~, is to be transmitted through the Soviet Charge d' Affaires in London. H.M. agreed. Mr. Menon's draft may therefore be kept in suspense on the file. Two personal letters from Mr. Krishna Menon to H.M., the latter enclosing a detailed report on his interview with M. Molotov, are placed below. These should be added to the correspondence and all papers concerned with Mr. Krishna Menon's tour in Europe should now be amalgamated + kept on one file.

2. With reference to Mr. Krishna Menon's projected visit to Moscow in November to continue discussions with M. Molotov, I gave H.M. my personal opinion that since an exchange of diplomatic missions with the U.S.S.R. seems imminent I could see no particular advantage and some awkward possibilities in a preliminary visit by Mr. Krishna Menon. Whatever character he went in and however binding the instructions we might give him, there would be a danger of his committing the Government of India, unwittingly and with the best intentions in the world, to courses of action which might be prejudicial to the conduct of India's future relations with the Soviet Government. The trained and hard-headed diplomatists of the Soviet Government could be relied on, I thought, to exploit his visit to the utmost for their own future diplomatic advantage and unless Mr. Menon showed extreme discretion and diplomatic acumen the task of a future Indian Ambassador at Moscow might well be made more difficult. In general, I felt that if a Special Emissary had to be sent in advance of an Ambassador it would be safer to send someonw with diplomatic experience. By way of illustrating

my point I drew H.M.'s attention to Mr. Krishna Menon's detailed report of his interview with M. Molotov in Paris. This showed quite clearly that while M. Molotov had been extremely affable and forthcoming he had at the same time been very careful not to commit his Government in any specific way. On the other hand Mr. Krishna Menon had raised one or two matters, admittedly casually, which were much better left unsaid at this stage. In particular I was somewhat disturbed at his mentioning the matter of Russian Military Experts for Indian Military Schools of the future. This might well have laid in M. Molotov's brain the germs of a future approach for a Soviet Military Mission to India!

3. H.M. agreed that Mr. Krishna Menon had been somewhat indiscreet on this point but did not feel that his proposed visit to Moscow in November would lead to any real difficulties. He felt it would be ungracious and difficult to refuse the invitation. He agreed however that it would be wise to brief Mr. Krishna Menon very thoroughly on matters to be discussed.

Yours ever

(G.C.L. Crichton).
12. 10. 1946.

F.S. (On return).

Seen with great interest.
I observe that we await M. Molotov's letter.

[illegible]
15/X/46

23

(Department of Commerce)

S. No. (21)

I place below for the Hon'ble the Vice-President's information a copy of letter No.4402, dated the 30th September 1946, received by the Secretary, Commerce Department from Mr. Elshin, U.S.S.R.'s Trade Agent in India. It will be recalled that at the suggestion of the Hon'ble the Vice-President a personal reminder had been sent to Mr. Elshin some time ago.

12. 10. 1946.
(K. B. Lall)
Deputy Secretary.
Phone 2446.

Private Secretary to Vice President
(Mr. Tarlok Singh)

Commerce Dept u.o.I.No.57-c(10)/46 dated 12.10.46.

E. A. Deptt.

For information only. No need to trouble us(x).

[will be run on to the main file which has gone to Commerce Deptt. under ECO No. 1946-x/46 dt. 15.x.46]

ecs 17.x.46.

17.X.46

External Affairs Deptt.

D. No. 2166-X/46 (22)

(23) — (24) Receipts

For information. The contents of M. Molotov's letter were telegraphed to us Vide para 2 of S. No. (10).

25/X/46. 25.X.46

25-10-46

From p - 22 ante.

It was I believe intended that action to follow up the contact recently made with M. Molotov through Mr Krishna Menon should be considered on receipt of M. Molotov's reply to HM's letter. This reply is at p - 35 corr. (encl. to S No 22).

H. Dayal
25. 10. 46

JS(X)

In his reply M.Molotov expresses the readiness of the Soviet Govt. to exchange diplomatic and other representatives with India, but does not suggest that the Soviet Govt. will do anything more about it. It is therefore for the Govt. of India to take the initiative if it is decided to take advantage of this opening. The correct method would presumably be to follow up these personal exchanges by an official approach through the Foreign Office and the British Embassy in Moscow. But before this is done, H.M. might prefer a further informal exchange of views in Moscow between a representative of the Govt. of India and officials of the Soviet Foreign Commissariat. It might be possible to get a member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly to visit Russia for this purpose at the conclusion of the Assembly.

F.S. will wish to discuss this whole matter with H.M.

26-10-46.

F.S.

I discussed this case of the follow-up action required on receipt of M.Molotov's letter of the 2nd October with H.M the other day and suggested that the time had now come to put things on to a more official basis and to send Mr.K.P.S.Menon to Moscow, on his way back from New York, with a view to the discussion of technical details. H.M, I understood, was in favour of this idea but at the same time thought that it would be embarrassing to exclude Mr. Krishna Menon from the Mission to Moscow in view of what he has done so far, and he instructed me to see what instructions could be drafted to both Menons to proceed on a joint mission to Moscow in pursuance of M.Molotov's letter. I have been trying to get down to this but with little success. We cannot send one official and one unofficial or semi-official representative or negotiator and if both of them were to be officials there would be difficulty in deciding which was the Representative and which the Assistant since they could scarcely both be invested with parallel authority. Mr.Krishna Menon might complain ~~that he had been~~ if he were given a position of inferiority to Mr. K.P.S Menon in view of the fact that he had originally been entrusted with the unofficial approach, while Mr.K.P.S. Menon, in view of his past experience and achievements and of his future expectations would find it difficult to accept a position of inferiority to Mr.Krishna Menon. Nevertheless it is clearly essential now to come off the unofficial level on to the official plane. With M.Molotov's reply received there is no longer anything unofficial to be pursued for he speaks for his Govt. and what now remains is a purely official and largely technical discussions. And there is much sense in what Sir Stafford Cripps has written privately to H.M. about regularisation.

p.34/cor: on file No.207-X/46

2. I have been studying the file with some care (it is incomplete in that it contains no copy of H.M's letter to M.Molotov nor of the instructions given to Mr.Krishna Menon) and so far as I can see the impression that Mr.Krishna Menon was invited by M.Molotov to visit Moscow is somewhat mistaken. Mr.Krishna Menon's own report reads as follows. " M.Molotov next enquired what practical steps we could take to implement our common

p.22/cor: -ibid-

desires and I said I would be glad to go to Moscow and continue our talks there if he so wished. He cordially responded and said he would be glad to make arrangements". That is not exactly a spontaneous invitation; indeed it is more the inevitably polite response to a suggestion, and I observe that no reference to it is made in M.Molotov's letter to H.M. There is no need to apprehend therefore that Russians will see anything strange in the Govt.of India's sending an experienced official to continue the conversation on a more official plane instead of the inexperienced Mr.Krishna Menon. And it is this very matter of inexperience which seems to me to be decisive. On his own record of his conversation with M.Molotov, Mr.Krishna Menon went beyond the limits which a trained and discreet diplomat would have permitted himself and now that we are approaching the phase of technical details that inexperience might have embarrassing results . There remains however the feeling of obligation to Mr.Krishna Menon. Perhaps this can be met by the suggestion that he be, at the end of the General Assembly Session, appointed officially as the Govt.of India's special representative in Europe charged with the task of initiating semi official approaches to selected European countries on the issue of the exchange of representation at levels to be determined later in official talks if the semi official approach receives encouraging response in each particular country. This, like the appointment of an official representative to discuss details with the Govt.of the U.S.S.R, will require H.M.G's formal concurrence which I imagine will be readily forthcoming along with offers of assistance to both the Govt.of India's representatives. It would,I hope, be sufficient to appease Mr.Krishna Menon's <u>amour propre</u> ,and we shall then be on a reasonably clear line. If H.M. is substantially in agreement with the suggestions made in this note, I ~~would~~ will prepare a summary as it is now necessary to take the case in Cabinet. I would add one more comment. I do not think India can afford,either in terms of money or an expert staff, to set up at once a number of

diplomatic missions in Europe. I suggest that initially the line might be to aim at the establishment of, say, an Embassy in Paris the head of which Mission would be accredited additionally to Belgium, Holland, Sweden and perhaps Czechoslovakia also. This is not an uncommon way of getting round such difficulties, and one example I can quote offhand is the appointment in 1941 or 1942 of the American Minister in Tehran as Minister also in Kabul. It is an economical expedient and separate missions can be established as and when desirable. Most of the work in the countries in which the Diplomatic Envoy is <u>not</u> resident can of course be done by Consular Officers reporting back to him at his headquarters. If such a plan is acceptable, I suggest that it is necessary to inform Mr. Krishna Menon that it is one which the Govt. of India may wish, initially at any rate, to put into effect in various parts of Europe.

Wrightman

30.10.46.

I agree with much that Mr Weightman has written. It is desirable to make an official approach to the U.S.S.R. now after the unofficial approach which Mr Krishna Menon made in Paris. I feel however that this official approach should be a continuation of the previous meeting and what has just taken a new turn would be dealt with and then any difficulties. Since this Krishna Menon approach has been in touch with the Russian Chargé d'affaires in London regarding his visit in November. It would be unfortunate and within embarrassing to drop him from this at this stage. But quite apart from questions of another portfolio, I think it would be advantageous for the two Heads to be associated in this undertaking. The question of precedence may be a little awkward but will not trouble us. Mr V. P. S. Menon will bring all his training and diplomatic experience and Krishna Menon, though he has not had that official training, is a man of outstanding ability and

wide experience in foreign affairs.

I agree that Krishna Menon might be appointed our special representative in Europe charged with the task of initiating semi-official approaches to selected European countries on the basis of the exchange of representations at levels to be determined later. He may also discuss food, cultural & like matters. I would personally prefer him to work in an honorary capacity but this is not important. Anyhow he will have to be given a small staff & some assistants.

I agree also that we should not try to spread out too much to begin with. Paris would be indicated for an embassy & legations. The only other place that might be important is Prague.

I suggest therefore that Mr Krishna Menon should be appointed our representative for the special purpose named above and for a temporary period — preferably in an honorary capacity. Further that he and the P.S. Menon be appointed to the Legations & Consular offices in U.N. General Assembly. They are both in New York now and so is M. Desai and the duties of the visit can be arranged easily.

This matter should be expedited so that full instructions can be sent on.

J Nehru
6/11/46

Mr. has added a further note [illegible] received from Mr Krishna Menon
6/11
F.S.

I put up a draft Summary for Council as directed by F.S.

4/11/46.

Please retype quickly

5/11/46

Summary to be re-typed + Submitted please
J+L.
5/11

F.S.
5/11

see

I think that H.M should / this Summary before it goes to the Cabinet Sectt. to submit to H.E for approval for consideration in Cabinet. It is conceivable that H.M might wish to make one or two small additions.

2. Will Deputy Secy. (Personal) please ensure that this is seen by H.M as soon as possible after his return as I understand that there might be a special Cabinet on Monday next meeting/and if we can get this to the Cabinet office in time this particular case might be put down for that meeting too?

6.11.46.

Dy.Secy.(Personal)

A revised draft Summary as directed by Foreign Secretary is submitted for approval.

12.11.46.

F.S.

H.M. spoke about this case again this morning and suggested that the matter be held up for a few days while he considered certain alternatives that we discussed. The file can be kept on the pending list

for the time being.

(H. Weightman).
12.11.46.

J.S. (—) Pt
X
12/X
Rec'd 13/V
FR
=

D. No. 2567-x/46 (25) FR

This case has been held up under HM's orders. Meanwhile, Mr. Krishna Menon has announced his tour to the press in the United States. Cutting is below.

14.11.46.

P.S.

H.M. may like to consider sending a slight rebuke to Mr. Krishna Menon for his lack of discretion in making this announcement. It would, I think, be well to inform him that he should in no circumstances commit himself to any publicity in relation to matters which he is handling on behalf of the Government of India without Government's specific assent.

(H. Weightman).
14.11.46.

Extract taken and put on file bearing Dy No 2567-x/46

H.M.

I did not like this press message. It is always difficult to know who is responsible. Sometimes a private comment is blazoned forth. Anyway I propose to write to Krishna Menon about it.

15/11

This case should be put up before the Cabinet now as I have rejected no. of telephone enquiries with Secretary

15/11

F. S.. Draft summary amended.

15/11/46.

F.S.

TOP Secret

Shown to Hon. who accepts this summary.

The file returned now to Secretary to the Cabinet with the request to obtain H.E.'s approval to the inclusion of this case in the agenda for the next Cabinet meeting on Wed: 20th.

16/XI/46

Secy: Cabinet. (Mr. H.M. Patel)

E.A.Dept. U.O. No. D. 2567-X/46, dt. 16.11.46

Recd. 10.55 am. 18/XI.

CABINET SECRETARIAT
File No.
18 NOV 1946
Dy. No. 35 C/S/46

CABINET SECRETARIAT.

H.E. has directed circulation with a view to discussion in Cabinet on Wednesday, the 27th November. Will the E.A. Department kindly let us have urgently the requisite number of copies of the summary for circulation to H.Ms?

(H.M.Patel).
22. 11. 46.

Secy.External Affairs Department.(Mr.Weightman).
Cab. Secrt. U/O No 1481/CS/46, dt. 22.11.46

E. A. Deptt.

Copies of the Summary for Cabinet are made by Cabinet Secretariat and it is presumed that copies will have been circulated by Cabinet Secrt. to the Hon'ble Members. Perhaps H.M. would like to have the file during discussion. Submitted.

26.XI.46 26.11.46

26/11/46

F.S.

Returned
Weightman
27/XI/46

/32/

External Affairs Department.

Visits of Mr. K.P.S.Menon and Mr. Krishna Menon.

Three drafts are for approval. File is not available. It is, ofcourse, desirable that the Govt. of India's Special Representatives should act as independently as they c can and not put themselves under the wing of the British Ambassadors concerned. They will, however, be able to get most useful local information from the British Embassies concerned, and I therefore propose that these Embassies shoul should be asked to give them such assistance as they may require.

2 xx xx xx

Sd/- H.Trevelyan
19.11.46

I have slightly redrafted. Please keep ready for H.M.'s return.

Sd/- H.Weightman
22.11.46

A very slight amendment to each draft made.

Sd/- H.Trevelyan
25.11.46

These may issue at once, in accordance with the Cabinet decission this morning.

Sd/- H.Weightman
27.11.46

(25) to (27) Issues*

[* Telegram to Mr. Krishna Menon removed and placed on the relevant file]

External Affairs Deptt. 38

D.O. No. 2355-X/46 (28).

Sir,

I am directed to say that the Government of India have been considering the question of the appointment of a Trade Commissioner in Egypt. They have decided that the post should be filled by the appointment of Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan, I.C.S., who is at present Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Commerce. Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan will be relieved of his duties in the Department of Commerce on the 15th November, 1946, and will proceed to Egypt shortly thereafter.

2. I am to request that the Government of Egypt may be informed accordingly.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
R. Madan
7.11.46

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Department of Commerce,
New Delhi.

Sd/-
6/11/46
7/11/46

U.S. (W.E.) X 7/11 Pant 6/11

U.S. (W.E.) DS (E.R.)

Asst. 4 8/11

-84- I. Note by Mr. Watson

Opening of an Indian Embassy in Moscow.

Points for prior discussion with Soviet Government.

Accommodation. This is perhaps the most serious difficulty for all foreign Missions; some important Powers like Brazil still have no Embassy premises at all and have to work in hotels, and the others find their work hampered and a great deal of unrest caused and time and energy wasted by inadequate office and housing space. The Soviet Government should therefore be asked to agree (on a reciprocal basis) to the provision of adequate accommodation from the beginning. This should be defined in detail and not left vague (detailed provision pays with the Soviet Government). Apart from an Embassy building in its own grounds, containing the Ambassador's residence and office space at the rate of say one room for every two diplomatic officers and one room for every four clerical staff (measurement by sq. meters can be most deceptive), living accommodation should be assigned at the minimum rate of two rooms for each diplomatic officer and wife, and one room for each member of the clerical staff, or whatever figures are desired. Even the Americans, who attach great importance to good living conditions, were forced at one stage to make two clerical staff share one hotel bed room, which led to much discontent. Garage accommodation etc. will of course also be needed.

(Presumably "dislocation" or "inconvenience" is meant.)

Import of supplies. The Soviet Government should be asked to agree to the import of food and clothing supplies etc. without restriction for members of the staff, whose every need may not be obtainable in Moscow. Recently many Missions have experienced serious administrative difficulties in importing some commodities such as foodstuffs, for which an import licence is necessary even when consigned to Ambassadors.

Petrol. If accommodation is at all scattered it will be found that the petrol allowance - which I believe is now at 150 litres a month - is not enough. Public transport is more or less unusable, and it is difficult to walk any distance in snowstorms etc. The air port (for couriers etc) is some 45 minutes by car. Many Missions make arrangements to fetch staff to and from work by car. Wood etc must be fetched by lorry. So an agreement should be reached about the mutual right to import extra petrol.

Furniture. It will be wise to bring in as much furniture, crockery etc. as possible, and not to rely on Soviet sources of supply. Many Missions have found Sweden the most suitable place to buy furniture. A lorry and a "station Wagon" are essential cars apart from the Ambassador's car and other officers' cars. If it is decided to import furniture and cars, which is strongly recommended, this should be mentioned to the Soviet Government.

Couriers & Bags. At present the British and American Governments run regular air courier services, which go out westwards to Berlin and London. The British service runs twice a week in each direction, and takes, besides British mail, bags for Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, Abyssinia, and occasionally countries like Italy and Uraguay. There is no charge. Most countries contribute some petrol. By arrangement some private letters for members of the staff and possibly a few parcels could be carried.

The Soviet Givernment will certainly want to run their own courier service, with two couriers each time. Friction is avoided if weights which are to have priority by air are agreed. The Soviet couriers are likely to wish to travel via Tehran, Baghdad and Karachi as the Hindu Kush may not always be crossable

by air,and as they have couriers to Baghdad already. If the Indian Government wished to run their own couriers, this would also be the best route. The names of couriers must be registered in advance with the Soviet Government,and the practice of making members of the staff etc couriers is frowned upon.

Telegrams. The Soviet telegram service is cheap,accurate and comparatively fast. Only very few Missions maintain their own wireless transmitters,by reciprocal arrangement,unless the volume of telegraphic traffic is heavy,this is an unnecessary expense and strain on accommodation;but it is possible to arrange.

Security. The Indian Embassy will presumably wish to take fairly thorough security precautions,though not to the same degree as Soviet Embassies abroad practise. These should include uninterrupted watch over confidential documents, by Indians. If security is not good,other foreign Missions will hesitate to talk freely to members of the Indian Embassy. The Soviet Government will not object to night guards etc.

Consuls. There is not likely to be much,if any,Indian Consular work in the Soviet Union;but some one with Consular experience should be on the staff of the Moscow Embassy. The Soviet Union have so far been most unwilling to allow foreign Consular representation outside Moscow to any country not in the Soviet Orbit, Exceptions beingthe U.S.Consul at Vladivostok, certain Chinese Consulates along the frontier,etc, in return for reciprocal facilities. If the Indian Government want Consulates,there is of course no harm in asking.

Other Legations. So far no power not in the Soviet Orbit has succeeded in establishing Missions at Kiev or Minsk (the capitals of the two Constitutent Republics recognised for international organisation purposes),much less any other centre. A post at Tashkent,the centre

of Soviet Central Asia and capital of Uzbekistan the third Republic of the Union,would certainly be interesting. This would of course involve recognition of Uzbekistan.

Newspapers and Periodicals. It is sometimes hard to get certain periodicals. The press is inordinately important in ~~in~~ studying the Soviet Union for being official or "Party" in every detail,what is said and omitted is of considerable significance. Some agreement about obtaining periodicals ,and the provincial press,should therefore be reached. (See note on press below).

Trade Missions. As all foreign trade is a State monopoly,a Commercial Counsellor or Secretary can handle this side of the work. The Soviet Government are unlikely to agree to the appointment of trade missions,certainly outside Moscow.

Other points for consideration.

Language. At least one member of the staff with fluent working knowledge of Russian is important. He will have to handle the most confidential work. When an Ambassador visits senior officials,it is customary to take an interpreter who translates what he says into Russian. The Soviet interpreter will translate what his own chief says into English.

Notes and letters may be written to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs etc. in English or French - or by arrangement in other languages. The Soviet replies will be in Russian. English is the first foreign language with M.F.A. officials. It is not usual for foreign Missions to have direct correspondence with other Ministries. Correspondence with other organisations connected with supplies of fuel, etc, is best carried on in Russian. A Russian translator-typist(non-confidential) can be hired,and will be found by the Soviet Government. Theatre tickets,which are assigned according to rank,have to be ordered by letter in Russian each time,etc.

Social contacts with Russians other than certain

authorised people are extremely limited in practice, and Russian is not necessary for all members of the staff.

Soviet Employees. Domestic servants are easy to obtain. Chauffeurs are harder, but it is as well to have Russian drivers. Teachers of Russian can be found. Soviet switch board operators for the telephone are essential.

Joint Press Reading Service. The five Anglo-Saxon Missions in Moscow (U.K., U.S., Canadian, Australian, New Zealand) have joined to form a press translating service which translates or summarizes every important article in the daily morning press by lunch time (average 30 pp of close type) and also translates or summarizes most important articles in various periodicals. Owing to the exceptional importance of the press for understanding the Soviet Union, this service is in much demand by foreign Missions. It costs the five Missions over £.10,000 a year in salaries, paper, etc; other Missions can by arrangement obtain one copy for £.150/- a year and a contribution of petrol.

The above note which was drafted by I. Watson of the Moscow Embassy will come in useful when arrangements for an Indian Embassy in the U.S.S.R. are being made.

I.S.

I.S. (x) ~~I.S.~~

C.A. Clarke 8/11/46. Enclosure 7/11.

He was one invited to join the Press Reading Service. I can't remember what we did. There are certain moments - either

from our own files or from I.O.B. Record
(As requested reference), & resubmit

V.K. Krishna Menon
5/x/46

D. 25 78-X/46.

The papers regarding the Joint Press Reading Service are in file No.201(8)-FE/46 - ~~slip V.~~ Please see pages 2-4 of the notes.

2. Below are draft instructions to Mr. Menon in the form of a letter from the Foreign Secretary enclosing a copy of Mr. Watson's note and a draft letter from HM to M. Molotov containing ~~Mr. K.P.S.~~ Menon's credentials.

Defence, Commerce + Reparations may see before issue.

H. Trevelyan.

25.11.46.
(H. TREVELYAN).

~~F.O.~~

Below are

(1) draft instructions to V. K. P. S. Menon with a draft letter to M. Molotov. The instructions may be read with this note at pp 1-5 above which a recent visit from the British Embassy in Moscow was good enough to record for us.

(2) draft instructions to Mr. Krishna Menon + a draft letter from H.M. to the Foreign Ministers of the various countries he is to visit. In accordance with the undertaking given in Cabinet this morning I will send this to the Cabinet Sec.y, when H.M. has approved, for circulation to Members of the Cabinet + their acceptance by Sat: 30th Nov:

V.K. Krishna Menon
27/xi/46

H.M.

Extract taken out at late hearing Dec. 1946 25567 -X/46

for signature.

The instructions for W. K.P.S. Memos may be framed for issue.

Those for Ministers Memos on being circulated to Cabinet, under copy of C/S memo to Cabinet Sect: (already issued) placed below.

H.R. Wigglesworth
28/XII/46

(28) Issued.

(29) Issued.

(30) Issue.

(31) Issue

(32) Issue

(33) Issue

D. No. 3253-X/46

D.No. 3255-X/46

Submitted as directed by H.S.(x).

Itd. M.P.S.
11.12.46
Itd. A.M.
11.12.46

F.S. was going to discuss the F.Rs. (S.Nos.) with H.M.

Sd/- C.B.Duke
11.12.46

I place below a telegram for issue after discussion with H.M. We should prepare a brief note for circulation to the Cabinet explaining Mrs. Pandit's conversation with Molotov in New York and that in view of the latter's attitude it is no longer regarded as necessary to send an official representative to hold talks in Moscow. On Mr. K.P.S. Menon's arrival in Delhi with fuller information about the Canadian/U.S.S.R. precedent further action will be taken on similar lines and detailed technical discussions will be held by an official First Secretary who will be sent in advance of a Head of Mission to open the Mission as Charge d'Affaires in the first instance.

(H. Weightman).
11.12.46.

(34) Issue

(35) Issue

42 E. A. Dept. 47

D. No. 3577-x/46 (36) Issue
D. No. 3611-x/46 (37) Issue
D. No. 3612-x/46. (38) Issue
(From pre-page)

Submitted. In this connection attention is invited to S No (48).

eefS. 30/xii/46. 30.12.46

H-S.(X)

+S.No. (35).

Sir Girja Bajpai's telegram No.130 dated 23rd December. I have discussed this matter with Mr. K.P.S. Menon and put up a draft telegram in reply. If this is approved, we can then take up the question of the staff which we are going to send to Moscow and F.S. will be able to discuss further details regarding the approach to be made in Nanking with Mr. K.P.S. Menon on his return.

2. The text of the notes exchanged between the Canadian and Russian Govts. mentioned in S.No.(38) will be of use to us later. The conversations between Sir Girja Bajpai and the Brazalian Ambassador were undertaken because Mr. Menon was unable to take matter very far when he was in New York. A separate file will be opened in regard to the question of diplomatic relations with Brazil.

H. Trevelyan

30-12-46.
(H. TREVELYAN).

F.S. (Archive)

Shown to HMG who agree. Issue. also issue the 2 draft telegrams which I have called. HMG has approved. Pl: see that routine action is taken

V Bajpai
6/1/47

(39) Issue
(40) Receipt.

D. 3595-x/46,

X Put to Note. ⊗

⊗ Noted ufs 2/1/46

X Sent to e B. 6/1.

D 154-X/47

I have spoken to Mr. Menon about this, & he has little to add to the information already received, which will be completed when the form of Notes exchanged by Canada & Russia arrives. The Notes are apparently quite brief & simple, and can be exchanged between the accredited Representatives of India & Russia at any place where they meet, eg. London, Washington or Nanking. The formal part of the business will now be handled by Protocol Br., as already agreed. For the rest, the practical steps to be taken to establish a Mission in Moscow cannot be initiated until some competent officer can be appointed to go there and arrange details. Who he should be will presumably depend also to some extent on who is to be Ambassador. Financial provision will also have to be made.

What is the present position of this case?

A.B. Acharya
8/1/47.

D. No. 254-X/47 ✓ (41) Issued

Ref. J.S. (x)'s note above. The present position of the case is as follows:-

Mr. K. P.S. Menon, who was asked to go to Moscow to discuss at the end of the U.N.O. General Assembly to discuss preliminary matters with regard to the exchange of diplomatic relations between India and U.S.S.R. was asked not to proceed to Moscow.

2. Sir G. Bajpai was asked to send text of agreements between Canada and U.S.S.R. regarding exchange of diplomatic relations between those two countries. The texts have now been received and are placed at S/Nos. (41).

3. We have now to exchange notes with U.S.S.R. either through our Embassy at ~~Washington or~~ Nanking ~~or through the S/S, London~~. In view of 'A' of JS(X)'s note on fly-page, these papers may perhaps now be transferred to Protocal Branch.

= see S/No (39)

I think they may pass to Pt JS(X) for as indicated by JS(X)

eeS
15.1.47.

JS (X) may see again, before the case is examined in detail by Protocol Branch.

JS(X)

Wm. Hayter
15-1-47.

17/1

17/1/47.

Prot. Br.

Issue Por.

Please send copies of S/Nos (32) to (40) to P.O. by T.A.M. by routine. Sp. copies of S/Nos. (33), (34), (36), (38) & (39) are placed below and may be utilized

eeS
18/1/47

Issue Br. Immediate
Med. 2.10 p.m.
M-U-H.B.
18/1

Retained for 6-P(47)
22/1/47
20/1/47

Col.
18/1

Pol Br
20/1

I place below a draft agreement which could be signed in Nanking by Mr. K.P.S. Menon and the Soviet Ambassador there. Unlike Canada India is entering into top level diplomatic relations with U.S.S.R. from the beginning and it therefore does not seem necessary to include an agreement about Consular representation as this will be dealt with by India's Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. when he arrives in Moscow.

Technically the time is too early for an exchange of notes of the type put up in the draft. It will be necessary to get the Soviet Government's agreement to the exchange of notes taking place in Nanking and for them to instruct the Ambassador in China to take the necessary steps.

I suggest that the Government of India inform the Soviet Government of their proposals for the action in Nanking either through the Secretary of State and the Soviet Ambassador in London or through the British Ambassador in the Moscow. The latter method might save time.

For the time being if the draft put up is approved I suggest a copy of this be given to Mr. K.P.S. Menon before his departure to China so that he will know the form in which the agreement should be made. He may also be informed of whatever method we propose to adopt leading up to the formal exchange of notes.

R.M. Hadow

(R.M. HADOW)
22-1-1947

From the information contained in S.No.(36) it seems quite unnecessary for any further preliminaries either in London or Washington. It is clear in that telegram that the conclusion of ~~an~~ the agreement for the exchange of representatives between Canada and Russia was preceded only by informal conversations between the

Soviet and Canadian representatives first in London and then in Washington. It would therefore seem to be sufficient if Mr.K.P.S.Menon is instructed to approach his Russian colleague in Nanking on this subject with reference to the previous conversation between Mr.Krishna Menon and Mons.Molotov in Paris and the exchange of letters between H.M. and M.Molotov. I have spoken to Mr.K.P.S.Menon about this and it would be convenient to him if he could have a copy of H.M.'s letter to M.Molotov and the latter's reply to show to the Russian Ambassador in Nanking, to whom he could thereafter present the draft agreement for the exchange of diplomatic representatives. The office copy of H.M.'s letter to M.Molotov is not at the moment forthcoming and if it cannot be found it would probably be sufficient to give Mr.K.P.S.Menon a copy of H.M.'s message contained in S.Nos.(4) and (5) and of M.Molotov's reply at page 34/cor.

2. I put up a draft letter to Mr.K.P.S.Menon on these lines.

C.B.Duke

~~24-1-47.~~

~~E.F.~~

Any comments?

S.R. Wiltshire
24/1/47

Mr. Menon,

I agree with Mr. Duke's note.

Mr. Watson has mentioned various matters for prior discussion with the Soviet Government in his note on pages 34 to 36. Mr. Trevelyan, with whom I have discussed this, and I are strongly of opinion that none of these matters should be taken up now and that we should confine ourselves to the exchange of notes for the establishment of Diplomatic Missions. We do not want to appear that we are laying down any conditions in this connection. As mentioned in my telegram dated the 8th December (S.No.32) Canada did not raise any preliminary

points before the exchange of notes was effected. The details mentioned in Mr. Watson's note could be taken up by the First Secretary or Counsellor who will have to precede our Ambassador to Moscow and who may have to be designated Charge d' Affaires until the Ambassador takes over. In this connection my note on page 68 of the correspondence may also be seen.

F.S

30.1.47

Will H.M. please see the notes from the bottom of page 50 above ? I have been thinking over this matter further and the more I think the less I like the idea that we should propose a formal agreement for the exchange of diplomatic representatives with the U.S.S.R. No other country with which we have achieved, or discussed the possibility of, an exchange of representation has shown any desire for such an agreement and from our point of view there is nothing more that is wanted except a formal statement on each side that Ambassadors from each country will be accepted in the other. It is perfectly possible for Mr. Menon to put this to his Russian colleague in Nanking and for the latter to reply (under his own instructions) accepting it. I would not therefore myself suggest instructing Mr. Menon to negotiate this agreement but authorise him merely to sign such an agreement if the Russians demand it.

2. For the rest I agree with the comments made in the notes except that I still think Mr. Menon should indicate that India will probably wish to establish a consulate or two in one or more of the Soviet Republics in Central Asia and see whether he can secure agreement. If we do not say this at an early stage we may find that years pass before we can get at the subject again; the

Russians do not deal in reciprocity but in some curious diplomatic equivalent of "most favoured nation treatment". In other words, they will not accept for instance the argument that because we permitted them to establish consulates at certain points in India in addition to their Embassy in Delhi we were reciprocally entitled ourselves to establish consulates at points other than Moscow. Their argument would be that because the U.S.A. for instance has consulates at Calcutta and so on they must be allowed to have them too. I would not suggest that the point be pressed to an issue if the Russian reaction is unfavourable, but I do suggest that we should make our desires known forthwith, even if their achievement may have to be postponed. Mr. Menon might argue that the U.K. maintains a consulate at Leningrad and the U.S.A. one at Vladivostok; why therefore should not India have one or more in Central Asia considering that the two negotiating powers are both land powers in Asia. I feel very strongly that we shall need posts in future at Bokhara and one or two other places, if only as observation posts to enable us to keep in touch with developments in a part of Asia which is of great interest to us.

3. There is one final point. I rather think that before we instruct Mr. Menon to open discussions with his Russian colleague we ought to have the approval of His Majesty to the location of an Ambassador for India in Moscow. And while we are about it we might ask that if possible His Majesty's approval be sought to the establishment of Indian Embassies in any capital where he is already represented for the U.K. I do not know if this will be accepted but it would be a useful way of getting round a formality.

H. Weightman

(H. Weightman)
30.1.47.

H.M.

There does not appear to be much difference between the 'formal agreement' as suggested and an exchange of letters containing much the same thing. It is not necessary for the Soviet Union to suggest a 'formal agreement'. He should approach the Russian ambassador in Nanking, in continuation of the previous talks in Paris & Newfoundland with M. Molotov, and propose that we might now exchange ambassadors. If the Russians want some thing more formal, as suggested, he can agree to it.

We shall undoubtedly want consulates in some places in the Soviet Union. This matter need not be raised at this stage, and certainly was a subject for discussion, but the Russians might well mention it.

H.M.G. should be informed after the elections are taking and the necessary approval obtained as suggested in the Foreign Secretary's letter.

J Bevin
31/1/47

Mr. Roberts might come see me again & then perhaps I could put up to the F.O. for H.M.'s Majesty's approval (have I 2 say make 2 sets.) & the Mr. Roberts.

Ernest Bevin
31/1/47

~~F.S.~~

~~F.S.(C)~~. Mr. Roberts

~~F.S.(C)~~ Mr. Roberts is sick. F.S.(C) may now see for F.S.(C) further action as agreed. C.R. Attlee

File received to-day. There is no communication between the Govt. of India and the Secy. of State subsequent to the Secy. of State's telegram dated December 7th at serial No 31, so presumably the Secy. of State is still under the impression that we are sending Mr K.P.S.Menon to Moscow. Because of this we shall have to explain the position to him briefly when asking for His Majesty's approval. Draft telegram to the Secy. of State submitted. DFA (I)

2. In pursuance of D.S.(C)'s orders a fresh draft to Mr Menon is submitted. DFA (II)

13-2-1947 DS(C)

The two drafts are for approval.

2. I venture to draw attention to S.Nos. 24 and 33. The latter contains the last information which we have about the Russian attitude. There is nothing to show that Monsieur Molotov has put the matter to his Government. It might be as well to bear in mind the possibility that the Soviet Government do not yet consider the immediate exchange of Ambassadors between the U.S.S.R. and India as being finally settled.

(H.C. Beaumont)
14.2.47.

Draft on the lines of F.S's note is below.

14/2/47.

~~F.S.~~

Please retype the draft as amended & add a d/o draft on the subject 2 consulates

14/2/47

T.S.(C) ~~DS(C)~~ US(PT) 15/2

Draft d.o. on the subject of Consulates submitted. Dfa 14/2

The capitals of the Central Asian Republics are:

Askhabad (Turkmenistan)
Tashkent (Uzbekistan)
Alma Ata (Kazakhstan)
Stalinabad (Tajikstan)
Frunze (Kirghiz Republic)

Top Secret

Of these by far the most important in Russian eyes and indeed as a metropolis is Tashkent. After Tashkent, Alma Ata is probably the most important as a communication centre and a stop on the trans-Asian air route. I have therefore ventured to suggest Tashkent and Alma Ata as the most suitable spots for Consulates. Presumably we need not concern ourselves with Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, for the moment.

15-2-1947

D(c)

J.S.(c).

Immediate
15/2.

We might perhaps leave it at Tashkent at present, as we are not making formal proposals. Draft is below.

15/2/47.

D. 1517-PL/47.

PL
17/2

Issue the draft telegram
as submitted via note draft

VB Crighton
16/2/47

CCA
17/2

(41)- Issue.

M. H
17/2

Re-submitted with reference to Foreign Secy's note above.

18.2.47. 18/2/47

H.C. Beaumont
18/2

18/2/47.

J.S.(c)

F.S.

Please retype one more copy - Draft B.

Complete BFA & lay a draft
announcement based on the French precedent

VB Crighton
19/2/47

PRT
19/2

MH
19/2

TOP SECRET

from pre-page.

Reference Foreign Secy's note dated 19.2.47 on pre-page. Both the drafts have been re-typed. D.F.A. I has been completed as desired by Foreign Secretary.

19.2.47. 20/2/47

20/2/47

Rumbold 21.2.47

21/2/47. H.C. Beaumont 21/2.

~~H(AA)~~

~~US(PW)~~

~~J.S.(C)~~

~~F.S.~~

Mr. Menon should now see

21/2/47

Seen - Manks 22.2.

Mr. Menon 21/2

H.M. may like to see the Draft which will issue on receipt of approval of His Majesty to his being accredited for India by an Ambassador in Moscow.

22/2/47

F.S. J.S.(C) US(PW) PT 21/2

H.M.

H.M. has approved d.f.a. I.

He has noted, on d.f.a. II, that he would prefer the question of the opening of Indian consulates in Soviet Central Asian Republics to be raised at a later stage, unless the Russians themselves showed readiness to receive consulates.

H. Dugal 24.2.47

~~J.S.(C)~~ H.M. ~~US(PW)~~ PT 24/2 Rumbold 25/2

× Placed at the bottom of the file.

~~F.S.~~

I understand that H.M. has approved the draft at I which will issue. Before it does, however, I think we should ask H.M. whether he would like to see the draft at II which will issue on receipt of approval of His Majesty to his being accredited for India by an Ambassador in Moscow.

22/2/47

TOP SECRET

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

D. No. 1663-Pt./47. (43).

For information for the present. Further communication may be awaited. With regard to the point raised in para. 2 of the F.R. please see portion marked 'A' in Foreign Secy's note dated the 30.1.47 on page 53 ante. As it is customary to seek His Majesty's approval separately for the establishment of each new diplomatic Mission and this practice is followed by other Commonwealth countries, there do not seem to be any special reasons for deviating from the general practice and the question of seeking His Majesty's general approval for the establishment of Indian Diplomatic Missions in foreign countries on a basis of reciprocity may be dropped. Para. 2 of the F.R. does not seem to call for any reply unless we wish to pursue the question of general approval further.

25.2.47 06/25/2/47

Please see para 3 of F.S. Note at page 53 above, para 3 of S No 41 and para 2 of F.R. Presumably we need not pursue the matter.

25.2.47

Will F.S. please sign this letter to Mr K.P.S Menon. We will then give it to him, & ask him not to action it till we telegraph H.M's approval.

25/2/47.

~~F.S.~~

It would be more correct to await His Majesty's approval, after which it can go by air mail.

26-2-47

D.NO.1725-Pt/47. (43)

As the approval of H.M. the King has been received the Draft of Mr. Menon may now issue.

06/27/2/47 FS has signed. 27.2.47

JS(cc)

J.S. ~~(PRT)~~ PRT 27/2 26/2

TOP SECRET

(44)- Issue.

D. No. 2356-Pt./47. (45).

The F.R. is for information for the present. Further developments may be awaited.

3.4.47. 03/4/47

3/4/47

3/4/47

A(PS)

US(PS)

D.2421-Pt/47 (46)

Telegram. 83 dtd 8th April, 1947. We need

(a). Draft Telegram to KPSR. re. Visa.

(b). " " Sec. of State telling him.

(c). Draft Press Release.

9/4/47

DS (c).

The first draft has already issued (b) should include the substance of the Press Release. Re first draft through U.S. (PS) It should not send the case into office

M Beaumont

Two drafts and one c/o note are submitted.

9/4

10/4/47

A(PS)

US(PS)

DS(c)

Thanks. These must go today.

10/4

A.S.-(PS) (47)-(48)- Issued.

M Beaumont

1792 EA Dept 55-2 Com 13/4

D410-Eur 4/4

NOT TO BE BROADCAST OR PUBLISHED BEFORE 8.00 P.M. (I.S.T.) ON SUNDAY, APRIL 13, 1947.

Desk Officer 12/4 Secy 12/4 Russ Br 12/4 Min 16/4

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

INDIA AND USSR TO EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS

Being desirous of maintaining and further strengthening the friendly relations existing between India and the U.S.S.R., the Government of India and the Government of the U.S.S.R. have decided to exchange diplomatic missions at Embassy level.

External Affairs Department,
New Delhi, April 13, 1947.

KBT/MNA

"280 - 13.4.47"

6/-56-

SECRET

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

× copy below.

An official statement which is to be issued on the 13th April 1947 is forwarded herewith. It should not be released to the Press before 20.00 hours on Sunday the 13th April 1947. The wording should not be altered in any way as t the text is the subject of agreement with the U.S.S.R.

o/e

(R.M. HADOW)
Under Secretary, Protocol.

Despatched by Special Messenger. 10/4/47. 3.45 P.m.

P.I.O. (Mr. ~~Douglas~~ KB Panday).

E.A. Deptt: u/o No. D.2421-Pl-/47 dt 10.4.47.

NOT TO BE PUBLISHED OR BROADCAST BEFORE 20.00 Hrs. (I.S.T.)
ON SUNDAY the 13th APRIL 1947.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE.

Being desirous of maintaining and further strengthening the friendly relations existing between India and the U.S.S.R., the Government of India and the Government of the U.S.S.R. have decided to exchange diplomatic missions at Embassy level.

61

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

D. No. 2462-Pt./47. (49) -57-

Action regarding announcement of exchange of diplomatic missions between India and the U.S.S.R. has been taken separately. It is presumed that E(II) Branch will be taking action regarding appointment of a First Secretary to the Embassy of India in the U.S.S.R. They may kindly see and kindly confirm.

11.4.47. 11.4.47.

Before 'E' Branch produce the body it has to be decided when the Mission should start for Moscow. Presumably the sooner the better. Perhaps J.S.(c) would care to discuss with J.S.(x) who is in charge of EUR. Territorial Branch ?

Agreement
12/4

J.S.(c).

Spoke to J.S.(X). This may be left to Territorial Branch

P A M cmon
14/4

D S(C) no action.

15/4/47.

EUR. Br.

15/4

15/4

16/4

-58- 62/ 1) 358-Eur/47

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

Attention is invited to paragraph 2 of Mr. Menon's telegram from Nanking (No. 86 dated 9th April '47). I venture to support strongly Mr. Menon's suggestion that "no further time should be lost in setting up our Embassy in Moscow". In the present state of strained relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and Russia's extreme sensitiveness, indefinite delay in making a start with our representation in Moscow while we maintain a full-fledged Embassy in Washington is likely to be misunderstood by the Soviet Government. Russian pride would also, in my opinion, not view with favour the appointment, even as an interim measure, of an officer of the rank of First Secretary as Chargé d ' Affaires. If the appointment of an Ambassador must be delayed for some time, the Chargé to be appointed should carry the rank of Minister or Counsellor.

G.S.Bajpai.
11.4.47

Mr. Tirlok Singh

I agree.

Reference above.

~~It would be seen from above that~~ It has been decided that no time should now be lost in appointing a Charg d' Affaires at Moscow. Perhaps E.II ~~Branch~~ Branch will now take action as suggested by ~~Pt. Branch~~ on pre-page.

Explain to Sir ... Resubmit in a week.

External Affairs Department.

D.No.405-EUR/47 (2)(50)AR.

Submitted with reference to Sir G.S.Bajpai's note on pre-page.

16.4.47 Thank you. Branch's attention is drawn to my note on pre-page

16/4/47

Please see fresh telegram at serial No 2. The proposal now is that we should send an Ambassador straight off. Mr Petrov's views on the subject of accommodation do not agree with a note (x) I saw on a Prt.Branch file recorded by the First Secretary of the British Embassy in the USSR when he was in Delhi this winter. In that he said that many Missions, of which I think the Brazilian was one, were still in hotels and finding things extremely difficult.

2. From my experience in Moscow which was of course 4 years ago there was only one hotel, The International, at which diplomatists were housed, but it is possible that the Metropole is also now being used. Neither can be classed as good accommodation or suitable from the work point of view.

3. If, however, in view of Mr Menon's telegram under reference we decide to send an Ambassador from the very start, he should be accompanied by at least one Russian-speaking Secretary. This is extremely necessary as it will be found that many of the organizations which have to be dealt with with regard to accommodation, staff, rations, petrol, repairs, etc. cannot conduct negotiations in English. If the Ambassador arrives and is prepared to put up in a hotel with a skeleton staff, he will first have to approach the Ministry for External Affairs for accommodation. From experience results can be best achieved by constant pegging away in a series of interviews with the Soviet

(x) pp 34-38 ante

officer concerned by a Russian-speaking member of the Indian Embassy staff. Once accommodation is secured anything to do with decoration, painting, plumbing, telephones, etc. is handled by a subsidiary organization known as Burobin. This organization handles every single item which is required by foreign diplomatic bodies. For instance if a bathroom tap is dripping and a new washer is required, it is impossible in the Soviet Union to obtain the services of a plumber direct. He has to be secured through Burobin. This again can best be done by a Russian-speaking member of the staff. It is possible on arrival to obtain the services of typist interpreters, and in the British and American Embassies some of the Chancery servants or dvorniks (yardmen) who were employed were able to speak English and were invaluable for dealing with minor administrative details. If such persons could be found the Ambassador's task in setting up his Embassy would be greatly facilitated. The Government Architect in Moscow, a Mme. M. Alexandrov, is also an extremely useful contact for "fixing things", and he is able to speak French. I believe he still functions.

4. If it is considered on the strength of the telegram under reference that we should send an Ambassador as soon as possible, even if he is to stay in an hotel to begin with, it might be considered as to whether we should not follow up Mr Petrov's assurances about accommodation through Mr Menon in Nanking and say that we are anxious to send an Ambassador as soon as possible with the following staff:-

.....
.....

and we should greatly appreciate it if a building suitable for an Embassy could be placed at his disposal on arrival. The question of reciprocity will of course have to be considered and we must be prepared to place a similar building at the disposal of the Soviet Mission which will be arriving here. It would, however, be a great mistake to ask the Soviets in advance for accommodation if we

ourselves were unable to give them some kind of a building in Delhi within the near future. We have just managed to get a building for the French at short notice and in view of the importance attached to relations with Russia, it should be possible to find some sort of a building for a Soviet Embassy here, even though it might be fairly small and unsuitable for an Embassy on the usual Soviet lines with an extremely large staff. Since our staff in Moscow will not be very large at first, we can justifiably offer the Soviets a building of the same size as one which will be suitable for our Mission in the Soviet Union.

(R.M.Hadow)
17-4-1947

15(x)

I am inclined to think that we should not send an Ambassador but should stick to our proposal to send a Charge d'Affaires with a staff of two or three including a Russian interpreter. There can, however, be no harm in waiting for a week or so to see whether the Russians make any approach and I suggest that we telegraph to Mr. K.P.S. Menon saying that we are still inclined to open our Legation at Moscow with a Charge d'Affaires and to fix up the details of accommodation etc., but before we decide this, we should be glad to know (if he can get information,) when the USSR are proposing to open their Mission in Delhi and with what staff.

18.4.47.

F.S.

I agree; but please take Sec'y's orders on this when back. I shall be away.

18.4.47

J.S.(x)

H.M. will return on Monday. Will D.S.(P) please put this file to him on return.

18/4/47.

D.S.(P).

H. M. thinks that we should aim at the early appointment of an Ambassador though the Ambassador need not proceed to Moscow until a junior officer, a Counsellor or 1st Secy, has made suitable preliminary arrangements in the Soviet Capital.

Laeonem
22/4/47
[Tarbourich]

V.S. Bajpai.
22.4.47

I.S.(X)

P.S. Should see as above.

A. Rumbold
22/4/47.

US(Sare) Tomorrow
Euro. Dr.
22/4/47

External Affairs Department.

D.No. 468-EUR/47 (51)

Submitted. Our main file on the subject was submitted to U.S.(EUR) on 16.4.47.

21.4.47 21/4

Amalgamated as return of file, which is not with me.

21/4

Reference J.S.(x)'s note on pre-page.

F.S. may please see Sir G.S.Bajpai's note on page 66 ante. Thereafter the file may be seen by D.S(E). who may be asked kindly to take necessary action with regard to the appointment of staff to the proposed Embassy at Moscow.

23.4.47 23/4

Submitted ref. J.S.x's note on p.66 for submission to F.S.

24.4.47

with F.S. Please see.

Above. There is no action that D.S.(E) can take at present: I shall take up the matter with O.S.D.

24/4/47.

F.S.

24.4.47

US (EUR.) 25/4

Read 9/5 Seen 9/5 (J.x)

Euro. Dr 9/5

9/5

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

815/AS
20/5/47.

H.M. has informed Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai that he has selected Mrs. Pandit to be Ambassador for India in Moscow, and that H.E. the Viceroy has agreed to the appointment. A draft telegram to the Secretary of State is submitted for formal approval of H.E. the acting Viceroy.

H. Trevelyan
(H. Trevelyan)
19.5.47.

F.S.

Ajr.
19/5

Zuckai
20.5.47

I agree Govt should cite Telegram to be amended to include reference to Lord Mountbatten who should see before His Majesty's approval is sought.
21/5/47

Zuckai
22.5.47

Item as amended

Zuckai
22.5.47

(52) Issue.

(53) Receipt.

Send State's telegram.
agreement of Head of State of USSR may now be obtained through Ambassador in waiting. Draft for approval.

H Trevelyan.

Item. I suggest that Sec. might mention this application at the next Cabinet.
21/5/47. FS.

(54) Issued.
2/6/47

(55) Receipt

~~65~~

65

Ambassador, Hankow's telegram 181 dtd 19th June. ×

S(55).

~~Please issue Press Release below.~~

~~telegram to Secy of State.~~

~~24/6/47.~~

Please issue telegram to Secy. of State, & put file up tomorrow morning with draft Press Communiqué.

H. Bevin.

22/6/47

Sent to CCB for issue.

MV 22/6.

J.S(×) 22/6

Rm 25/6

~~HS(×)~~

× 25/6

Issue Press Communiqué below.

H. Bevin.

25/6/47.

Rm S

Reference above.

A fair u.o. note to the P.I.O. for the issue of the Press Communique is put up for signature.

(×) Sent to Issue Pb 25/6/47

eefs 25.6.47

Rm Dodgson 25/6/47

RAB. 25/6/47

HS/Sec

-D1089-Emb/47

he was able to go in any case. H Trevelyan 2/7/47

I have mentioned to O.S.D. my suggestion that Capt. Yakub, now Adjutant of the Viceroy's Body Guard might be sent with the first party to Moscow as Assistant Military Attache. I understand that he learnt a good deal of Russian while he was a prisoner in Italy and he is due to take his Russian Interpretership Examination this October. He would, I know, be very willing to accept the appointment. I understand that there would be no difficulty in getting his release from the Viceregal staff. I have informally mentioned this to Secretary, Defence Dept. If OSD agrees, we can send a note to Defence Dept. asking them whether they consider that he will be suitable from his record and whether his knowledge of Russian is fairly adequate; and if so, whether he could be released for this post.

H Trevelyan

29.5.47.
(H. Trevelyan)

O.S.D.

I think that we might first ask whether Defence Dept. would want to keep an assistant military attache in Moscow.

P.S. Bajpai
30.5.47

J.S.(X)

~~Defence~~.

Will Secretary, Defence Dept., please see the note above? We should be grateful to know whether the Defence Dept. would be likely to agree to the appointment of a Military Attache and an Assistant Mily. Attache in Moscow in view of the great importance of this Embassy. It will obviously not be fair to post there an Asst. Mily. Attache for the sake of his temporary usefulness and then remove him after a few months when a Military Attache is available; though there would be no objection to an Assistant Mily.

Attache being posted there for some months and remaining on as an Assistant to the Military Attache appointed subsequently. I should like to emphasise that this is purely an informal and personal enquiry. I should be grateful if no official mention could be made of the name of the officer whom we have had in mind, as the matter has not been discussed here yet on an official level.

H Trevelyan

31. 5. 47.
(H. Trevelyan).

Defence Deptt. (Mr. Dundas)

E. A. Deptt. U.O. No. 1089-Eur/47, dated 2/6/47

DEFENCE DEPARTMENT

H.M. Defence has discussed the question of the appointment of a Military Attache in Moscow with H.M. External Affairs and has recorded a note that it was agreed that, during Reconstitution, this was undesirable, as all suitably experienced officers would be required to remain in India. No action will, therefore, be taken for the appointment of an Attache or an Asst. Attache to Moscow.

A D F Dundas.

(A. D. F. Dundas)
Secretary
1. 7. '47

E.A. Department - (Mr. Trevelyan)

S.G. will wish to see the note above.

A Trevelyan
2/7/47.

S.G.

Thanks. H.M. External Affairs Deptt has agreed, as stated by Mr. Dundas, that no military attache need go to Moscow for the present. G.S Bajpai. 2/7

Eur 4/6

1376/O/cond 3.6.47

Aust 2 wks

RBH

No 1638/O/cond 1.7.47

Eur

D No 1524-Eur/47

D.S(E)

A.S(E)

68

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS & COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS.

fx(56)

A Press Communique regarding the appointment of Indian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. is forwarded herewith. It should not be released to the Press before 8 P.M. (I.S.T.) on Wednesday the 25th June, 1947. The wording of the Press Communique should not be altered in any way and ten copies of the Press Communique should be sent to this Department after issue.

Most Immediate Secret

Issue at once by Special messenger 16.00 hrs 25/6/47 Dispd

Under Secretary.

P.I.O.

Deptt. of E.A. & C.R. u.o. No.F.20(4)-Eur/47 dated the 25.6.47

(56) Issue

Ministry of E.A. & C.R.

FR Dy.No.2691-Eur./47. (57).

Assuming that the nomination of KIRIL VASILEVITCH NOVIKOV as the Soviet Ambassador to India is acceptable to P.M., we may ask the Private Secy. to the G.G. to obtain approval of H.M. the King. A draft u/o note on the usual lines is submitted for approval.

Offr
3/x/47
SR
3/x

MA
3/10/47

US(x)

S.No(58)

Telegram
Sent to C.C.B.
for issue.
ABM.
3/10/47

Spoke to S. G. Issue telegram below to Moscow.

2. S. G. will speak to H M. tomorrow after which the U.O note to get Hmss may be sent under signature of D S(X).

P. A H
3/10

(58) - Issued.

D S/(X). I have spoken to SG, who desires that the U.O. note below is PS to be issued. Please retype neatly and send thro for signature as early as possible on Monday morning.

H. Dayal
4. 10. 47

SECRET

Ministry of E.A. & C.R.

Subject:-Soviet Ambassador to India.

Reference enclosed copy of a telegram from the Indian Embassy, Moscow, No.23, dated the 30th September 1947.

2. The Hon'ble the Minister of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations accepts the Soviet Govt.'s nomination of KIRIL VASILEVITCH NOVIKOV as their Ambassador to India. The Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations will be grateful if the approval of His Majesty the King to this appointment could be obtained urgently by telegram.

4/10/47

Deputy Secretary (X).

Private Secretary to the Governor-General.

Min. of E A + C R No. No. D. 2691-Eur/47, dt- 6. 10. 47

D. No. 2824-Eur/47 — (59)

For information only.

14.X.47

15/X

17/10/47

Dy.No. 2863-Eur/47.....(60) FR.

For information only. H.M., has approved the nomination of Kiril Vasilevitch Novikov but the approval of His Majesty the King is awaited vide S.No.(59) to the appointment.

18. X. 47

18/X

-71-

By: 1353-F.R/47
6/10/47.

Ministry of External Affairs and
Commonwealth Relations.

.....

Subject:- Soviet Ambassador to India.

Reference enclosed copy of a telegram from the Indian Embassy, Moscow, No. 23, dated the 30th September 1947.

2. The Hon'ble the Minister of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations accepts the Soviet Government's nomination of KIRIL VASILEVITCH NOVIKOV as their Ambassador to India. The Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations will be grateful if the approval of His Majesty the King to this appointment could be obtained urgently by telegram.

H. Dayal

Deputy Secretary.

Private Secretary to the Governor General.

Ministry of E.A. & C.R. u.o. No. D.2691-Eur/47,
dated the 6/7 October 1947.

His Majesty the King approves of the appointment of KIRIL VASILEVITCH NOVIKOV as Soviet Ambassador to India.

A copy of the telegram notifying His Majesty's approval is attached.

G. H. Nicholls.

(G.H.Nicholls)
Deputy Private Secretary.
17th Oct 1947

Ministry of External Affairs
and Commonwealth Relations.
P.S.G.G.O. No. 1353-FR/47 dt. 17.x.47.

Ministry of EA + CR

Draft added.

H. Dayal
17.10.47

P A M
17/10

Ministry of E.A.&C.R. -72-

(61) -(63) Issues.

Dy.No.2957-Eur/47.....(64) ~~FR.~~

Dy.No.2993-A-Eur/47---(65) ~~ER.~~

Dy.No. (66) - Issue.

S.Nos. (64)-(66). Submitted for information only.

(no need to trouble US(x)

No. Dy.No.3247-Eur/47....(67) ~~FR.~~

Dy.No.3246-Eur/47....(68) ~~FR.~~

"No action; file"

Sd/- P.A.Menon.
8/11/47.

S.Nos.(67)-(68). In view of J.S.(x)'s orders above on S.No.(68) no action is necessary on S.No.(67) and this may also be filed.

Dy.No.3590-Eur/47.....(69) ~~FR.~~

For information only.

Correspondence.

DESPATCH.

(1) 74- D.1454-x/46

SECRET
8059

Telegram Cypher OTP No.8059 dated 17th September 1946
From....Governor General (E.A.Department) New Delhi
To.....Secretary of State for India, London.

IMMEDIATE

Reference your telegram No.8732 of 8th May to Food Department.

2. We have given fresh consideration to question of approaching Soviet Government for supply of surplus food-grains to India. It is realised that prospect of obtaining any significant quantity in appropriate space of time is small; but despite this and despite lack of response to appeal made by Indian Delegate at last General Assembly of U.N.O. we feel strongly that approach should be made.

3. As we see it advantages are:-

(a) Possibility that some wheat or other foodgrains may be obtained.

(b) Approach if made direct and at high level though necessarily confined initially to matters related to food would indicate to Soviet Government desire of Government of India to establish friendly relations.

(c) Russian reaction to such an approach would provide some indication of Soviet Government's attitude towards India and hence would be of assistance in framing of future policy towards U.S.S.R

(d) Approach would prepare way for future direct diplomatic relations between Government of India and the Soviet Government.

4. We propose therefore to make a direct personal approach i.e. from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to M.Molotov followed possibly (if response is favourable) by despatch of small Mission to Moscow to discuss matters in greater detail. We appreaciate that matter has wider implications than mere request for assistance in foodgrains and should be grateful.....

grateful therefore if any comments or advice which H.M.G may care to offer could be telegraphed as matter of great urgency.

H.M. WASHINGTON (3) E.A.DEPTT ALL OFFICERS PSV CABINET SECRETARY & SECY FOOD DEPTT. (3)

F.H.

(2) 76 D.1523-X/46

RECEIPT

CYPHER TELEGRAM O.T.P. SECRET 9160.

From ... Secretary of State forIndia, London.
To ..... Governor General (Food Deptt) New Delhi.

No. 17189 T.O.O. 0100
Dated and recd 22nd Sept. 1946 T.O.R. 0930

IMMEDIATE.

Your telegram No. 8059 Sept. 17th, Food grains from *Russia. As far as our information goes it seems unlikely that Russia will have any surplus wheat or other foodgrains available for export during next year. If any export surplus were available it would be preferably from world food point of view that any exports of Russian wheat should go to neighbouring UNRRA Countries thus freeing equivalent amount of wheat from other source for other needy countries including India. Nevertheless as indicated in my telegram No. 8732 May 8th it is just possible that Soviet Govt might respond to an appeal from India for political or propaganda purposes even at the expense of their own consumers though we do not rate this possibility very high.

2. Though as explained above H.M.G do not consider appeal to Soviet Govt for *assistance would have much chance of success they recognise that in present critical food situation in India Govt. of India are bound to explore any possibility which offers slightest prospects of obtaining extra supplies and that decision to make this approach clearly rests entirely with Govt. of India.

3. H.M.G. have no objection to proposed method of personal approach from *Pandit Nehru to MOLOTOV. They trust however that it is not (repeat not) intended to make this approach by enclair telegram which might very possibly lead contents being made public before Soviet Foreign Minister has had an opportunity of studying them with consequent risk of offending

..... Page 2.

Soviet Government and perhaps courting a rebuff. It is suggested that Pandit Nehru's message should be telegraphed in Cypher to H.M's Representative Moscow with request for transmission to MOLOTOV at Paris through Soviet Ministry for Foreign Affairs. I should be grateful if text might also be repeated to me for information.

4. I am telegraphing separately today to Department of External Affairs regarding wider implications mentioned in para 4 of your telegram.

...

Food Department (8) PSV, Cabinet Secy,
HM, X Br. (3) E.A. Deptt (All Officers)
Mr. Menon.

BH.

-78- (4/3)

RECEIPT

D.1557-x/46

CYPHER TELEGRAM O.T.P. TOP SECRET. 9156.

From ... Secretary of State for India, London.
To ..... Governor General (E.A. Department) New Delhi.

No. 17190 T.O.O. 1920
Dated 21st (recd 22nd) September 1946. T.O.R. 0500

IMMEDIATE. ppt-2 ant

*E.A. Deptt?

Top Secret. Please refer to *Food Deptt telegram dated September 17th No. 8059, Food grains from Russia and my reply of today to Food Deptt.

2. As regards *wider implications H.M.G. appreciate Govt of India's motives for making approach to Soviet Govt. and note possible advantages mentioned in para 3 of telegram under reference. With reference to (d) in that paragraph in the event of friendly reply from Soviet Govt. leading to further contacts and to mutual desire for establishment of direct diplomatic relations Govt. of India will no doubt bear *in mind that experience shows that diplomatic relations with Soviet Govt. are apt to be somewhat one-sided. Under Soviet system contacts and activities of all Foreign Representatives at Moscow are very strictly limited and circumscribed while Soviet Representatives in more democratic countries are naturally accorded much greater freedom.

*By ch.

3. If Soviet Mission were established in India Govt. of India would no doubt wish to see that it was not used for interference in matters of internal politics and to engage in other activities which would cause embarressment to Govt. of India.

4. We have no further comments to make at this stage pending results of Pandit Nehru's appeal.

...

HM, FS and PSV only.

[illegible] Deptt

[illegible]

BH.

-79- (3A)

5A 8

(C O P Y)

New Delhi, India
21 September 1946

Dear Monsieur Molotov,

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon has been requested and authorized by us to convey to you and to the Government of the U.S.S.R. the greetings of the Government of India and the Indian people.

He is being sent as my personal representative as Vice President of the Interim Government of India and Minister for External Affairs.

It is our earnest desire to develop friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. and to exchange diplomatic and other representatives with your country. We feel that cooperation between India and Russia will be of mutual advantage to both and will be helpful in promoting the peace and progress of the world.

India, as you know, is facing a very serious food shortage and there is grave danger of famine in many areas. We would greatly appreciate and welcome your help in this matter if it is possible for you to send food grains to India in the immediate future.

Mr. Krishna Menon will explain to you not only the food situation in India but the other considerations which have led us to ask him to meet you. We are passing through a transitional phase in India, but we hope soon to play our full part in world affairs.

Please accept the assurance of our high regard.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru
Vice President, Interim Government of India
Minister for External Affairs

His Excellency
Monsieur V. M. Molotov,
Minister for Foreign Affairs, U.S.S.R.,
Moscow.

-80-

(4) (3)

DESPATCH

J. 4555-x/46

SECRET 8247.

Cypher Telegram O.T.P. 8247 dated 23rd September 1946.

From ... Foreign, New Delhi.
To ..... Hicomind, London.
Repeated to Secretary of State for India, London.

IMMEDIATE.

Following from Jawaharlal Nehru.

Please convey to Krishna Menon India League London who arrives London tomorrow by air from India following message. Begins. "Should like you contact Molotov Soviet Minister Foreign Affairs immediately in Paris regarding supply foodgrains to India. Convey following message from me." Ends.

2. Message begins. "In view grave food situation in India and impending famine in many parts of country we would earnestly appeal to you and your Govt. to help us by sending foodgrains to India if this is possible. We have already asked Soviet Trade Commissioner in India to communicate our request to your Govt. and he informs us that he has done so. Our need is urgent and we would be grateful for this help from a friendly people who are our neighbours and our people would appreciate it greatly." This message also sent to Soviet Foreign Office through British Embassy Moscow. Please inform me of steps taken by you and possibility of response to our appeal. Message ends.

3. Text of above message has also been telegraphed to British Embassy Moscow for transmission to M. Molotov through Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

...

HM, Supdt X Br.(3) FS, JS X Mr. Menon
Food Secy (4) PSV and Cabinet Secy.

BH.

SECRET 8246.

Cypher telegram OTP No. 8246 dated 23rd September 1946.

From..... Foreign New Delhi.
To..... Prodrome Moscow

Immediate.

Please convey following message to M.Molotev through Soviet Ministry for Foreign Affairs on behalf of Pandit Jawaharalal Nehru. Begins. "In view grave food situation in India and impending famine in many parts of country we would earnestly appeal to you and your Government to help us by sending foodgrains to India if this is possible. We have already asked Soviet Trade Commissioner in India to communicate our request to your Government and he informs us that he has done so. Our need is urgent and we would be grateful for this help from a friendly people who are our neighbours and our people would appreciate it greatly." Ends.

2. Please inform Ministry of Foreign Affairs that text of this message has been telegraphed also to Krishna Menon of India League London with instructions to deliver it personally to M.Molotov in Paris on behalf of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

HM: Supdt.X.BR:(3): F.S: J.S:(X): MR MENON: SECY FOOD (4): P.S.V: CABINET SEC'Y:

R.L.

(6) -82-

D.1590-R/46

84

No. 1084/C.M/46.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
CABINET SECRETARIAT.

New Delhi, the 21st September, 1946.

The decisions reached at the meeting of the Cabinet held on Monday, the 16th September, 1946, in the cases noted below and finally approved by His Excellency the Viceroy are forwarded herewith under rule 22(10) of the Rules of Business:-

Case No. 146/45/46	United Nations General Assembly - Proposal of the Government of the Union of South Africa to annex the mandated territory of South West Africa.
Case No. 147/45/46	United Nations General Assembly - Use of the veto provision by the Great Powers.
Case No. 148/45/46	Foodgrains from Russia.

Sd/- H.M.Patel.
Joint Secretary to the Cabinet.

G.C.L.Crichton Esq., C.I.E.

Extract to files.

Sd/- G.C.L.Crichton.
23.9.46.

Copy No. S_E_C_R_E_T.

MEETING OF THE CABINET HELD ON MONDAY,
THE 16TH SEPTEMBER, 1946,
AT 10-30 A.M.

85

Case No.148/45/46. - - - Foodgrains from Russia.

P_R_E_S_E_N_T.

His Excellency the Viceroy.
The Hon'ble Member for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations.
The Hon'ble Member for Home and Information & Broadcasting.
The Hon'ble Member for Food and Agriculture.
The Hon'ble Member for Transport.
The Hon'ble Momber for Industries and Supplies.
The Hon'ble Member for Works, Mines and Power.
The Hon'ble Member for Finance.
The Hon'ble Member for Education, Health and Arts.
The Hon'ble Member for Labour.
The Hon'ble Member for Law and Communications.
The Hon'ble Member for Commerce.
The Hon'ble the Agent-General for India in China.
The Secretary, Food Department.
The Joint Secretary, External Affairs Department.
The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.
The Secretary to the Cabinet.
The Joint Secretary to the Cabinet.

- - -

D_E_C_I_S_I_O_N.

(1) The Cabinet approved of the proposal that an approach should be made to the Soviet Government with a view to obtaining foodgrains from Russia.

(2) H.M.G. should be informed of the proposed approach.

(3) The question of further steps should be considered after the Russian reaction to the proposed approach becomes clear.

X Br(3) Mc.S. 7/X

-84-(7)

RECEIPT

B6
D.1776-x/46

Telegram I.W.C. 9861
From--- S/S for India, London.
To-----G/G (E.A. DEPTT) New Delhi.
No. 17880
Dated and recd 5th Oct: 1946 T00 1500 TOR 2315.

Following from Moscow to Foreign Office
No. 3230 September 30th repeated to New Delhi No. 73

Soviet Press for September 30th give prominence to TASS Paris report of meeting between MOLOTOV and NEHRU'S personal representative which is said to have been concerned with Soviet-Indian relations.

.....

HM: X BR(3) E.A. DEPTT(ALL OFFICERS) WAR DEPTT(4)
SECY I & B DEPTT(2) HOME DEPTT & D I I C(4)

F.S.D.

P.S. & HM
2/x

No. (313/23/46)

(8) D. 1793-x/46

-85-

HIS Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Moscow presents his compliments to H.M.Representative, New Delhi and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
MOSCOW.

24th Sept., 1946.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Letter to Mr. Dekanozov of 24.9.46.	Communication to M. Molotov from Pandit Nehru.

412-13 Enc.

Copy to:-
Foreign Office under P.L.745.

Mr has seen.

2 Accounts

3+/10/46.

4/11/46

X/4/X

BRITISH EMBASSY MOSCOW

313/23/46
URGENT

24th September, 1946.

(Dear Mr. Dekanozov)

I have been instructed to convey to Mr. Molotov through the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs the enclosed message from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Interim Indian Government. I shall be grateful if you will be so good as to ensure that the message reaches its destination.

I have also been instructed to inform you that this message has also been telegraphed to Mr. Krishna Menon, of the India League in London, with instructions to deliver it personally to Mr. Molotov in Paris on behalf of Pandit Nehru.

(Yours sincerely)

P.M. ROBERTS.

His Excellency
Mr. V.G. Dekanozov,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

889

Message to Monsieur Molotov
on behalf of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

"In view of the grave food situation in India and the impending famine in many parts of the country we would earnestly appeal to you and your Government to help us by sending food grains to India if this is possible. We have already asked the Soviet Trade Commissioner in India to communicate our request to your Government and he informs me that he has done so. Our need is urgent, and we would be grateful for this help from a friendly people who are our neighbours, and our people would appreciate it greatly."

Read on 8/X/46 Mr. (3) Am.S 8/X

X Br

-88- (9)

90 D(811-X)

RECEIPT

CYPHER TELEGRAM O.T.P. SECRET 9913

From..... Secretary of State for India, London.

To..... Governor General(External Affairs Department) New Delhi.

No.17996

Dated 5th (received 6th) October 1946. T.O.O. 2000 T.O.R. 1400

.....

Following from Moscow to Government of India No.74 of October 2nd repeated Foreign Office No.3258.

Begins. Your telegram No.8246+ of September 23rd. Message was delivered on September 24th to Ministry of Foreign Affairs who*have now confirmed its onward transmission.

+ T SACO (5) not signalled.

* by ch,

2. No word of this or of object of Krishna* Menon's visit to MOLOTOV has yet appeared in press here. Reuter's correspondent who tried to send a story suggesting Menon's main object was to obtain food for India* was refused permission. Nor has any correspondent been allowed to report (gr. corrupt ? on'?) selective cuts in bread ration which apparently reduces certain categories of ration, including children and old people and limits purchases to one day's ration at a time instead of two. Ends.

.....

HM : X BR (3) EA DT ALL OFFICERS : MR. MENON : PSV : CABINET SECY : FOOD SECY (4) DY SECY I & B.

E.A.

(10) (~~10~~) D 1878-x/46

-89-

RECEIPT

SECRET
9898

CYPHER TELEGRAM O.T.P.

From:----Hicomind London.
To :- ---Foreign, New Delhi.
No :----5895
Dated----(& received 5th)October 1946 T.O.O. 1250
T.O.R. 2215

.....

Following for Nehru from Krishna Menon. The Soviet Charge d' Affaires in London has sent me Russian text and an unofficial English translation of telegraphic text reply of M. MOLOTOV to your letter to him dated September 21st. The Charge d' Affaires desire desires me to convey to you M. MOLOTOV message and also that an official letter from M. MOLOTOV will be sent to him by diplomatic bag which he will transmit to me to be forwarded to you as soon as I receive it. M. MOLOTOV desires it to be conveyed to you that his reply also covers your second communication in respect of food. I convey herewith M. MOLOTOV message which begins.

Dear Mr. Nehru I thank you for your letter and for greetings from Government of India and Indian people to Government of U.S.S.R. and myself which you have conveyed through Mr. Krishna Menon. In reply to your proposal Soviet Government express their readiness to develop friendly relations with India and to exchange Diplomatic and other Representatives with your country which is undobtedly in interests of both Countries. The Government of U.S.S.R. have with all attention considered your request for food aid to India. However owing to drought in a number of inportant agricultural Districts of U.S.S.R. the Soviet Government unfortunately are unable this year to send any amount* of cereals to India. In admitting existence of particular difficulties which are to be overcome at beginning by* new Indian Government and by you personally I wish you success in your work to perform tasks facing new Indian Government for good of all Indian people. Yours Sincerely. M. MOLOTOV. Message Ends. I would like also to inform you that I consider it very desirable that I should begin to*establish contact with Western European countries before I leave for America and therefore call on M. BIDDAULT at* an early date. My present plan is to go to Paris next week. I request India House London and Trade Commissioner in Paris be given necessary instructions in respect of these visits pending your general instructions.

*by ch.

KM

.....

HM: FEA Br(3) E.A.DEPT(All Officers)Mr. MENON: PSV: CABINET SECY: FOOD DEPT (2)

-90(11)

DESPATCH

SECRET 8715.

Cypher telegram OTP No. 8715 dated 10th October 1946.

From..... Governor General (E.A.Department) New Delhi
To..... Secretary of State for India London.

Important.

Our telegram 8247 of 23rd September.

Following is text of personal message from Molotov to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru handed to Krishna Menon by Soviet Charge d'Affaires London for onward transmission. Official letter from Molotov is to follow through same channel.

2. Begins. Dear Mr Nehru I thank you for your letter and for greetings from Government of India and Indian people to Government of U.S.S.R. and myself which you have conveyed through Mr Krishna Menon. In reply to your proposal Soviet Government express their readiness to develop friendly relations with India and to exchange diplomatic and other representatives with your country which is undoubtedly in interests of both countries. The Government of U.S.S.R. have with all attention considered your request for food aid to India. However owing to drought in a number of important agricultural Districts of U.S.S.R. the Soviet Government unfortunately are unable this year to send any amount of cereals to India. In admitting existence of particular difficulties which are to be overcome at beginning by new Indian Government and by you personally I wish you success in your work to perform tasks facing new Indian Government.for good of all Indian People. Yours sincerely

M.Molotov. Ends.

3. Our immediately succeeding telegram repeats text of Pt Nehru's telegram to Krishna Menon through Hicomind.

HM: X.BR:(3): E.A.DEPTT:(All officers): MR MENON: P.S.V: CABINET SECY: FOOD DETP(Secy):(2):

RCL.

-91-(12)

DESPATCH.

SECRET 8716.

Cypher telegram OTP No. 8716 dated 10th October 1946.

From..... Governor General (E.A.Department) New Delhi
To..... Secretary of State for India London-

Our telegram No. 8715 of 9th October.

Following is text of telegram referred to in paragraph 3.

2. Begins. * Following for Krishna Menon from Nehru x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x before you go to New York. Ends.

* C.C.B. No. 8707

HM: X.BR:(3): E.A.DEPTT:(All Officers): MR MENON: P.S.V: CABINET SECY : FOOD SECY (2):

R.L.

(13)

SECRET 8707 —912—

CYPHER TELEGRAM O.T.P. No. 8707 dated 9th Oct: 1946
From---- Foreign, New Delhi.
To------ Hicomind. London.

DESPATCH.

SNS(10)

IMMEDIATE.

Following for Krishna Menon from Nehru. Begins

Your telegram 5895 of October 5th. Appreciate Molotov's message. Awaiting official letter. Shall then take further steps and send you instructions for your visit Moscow.

2. I have carefully considered your suggestion at end of your telegram. I feel that it would be preferable for you to establish unofficial contacts first in New York with representatives other countries. Later visit them by arrangement or invitation. You will have ample opportunity in New York for meeting foreign representatives. Therefore feel it is preferable for you not repeat not visit Paris before you go to New York. Ends.

.....

HM: X BRANCH(3) E.A. DEPTT(ALL OFFICERS) MR MENON.
P.S.V. CABINET SECY: & SECY FOOD(2)

F.S.D.

(14) -98-

D.1520-x/46

Ex Sov. Sec. 23/9

Cypher telegram OTP. Top Secret. 9050(3)

From..... Inverchapel Washington
To..... Foreign New Delhi.
No. 698
Dated 18th (& recd. 19th) September 1946.

T.O.O. 2314
T.O.R. 2215

TOP SECRET.

Important.

Reciprocal exchange of diplo. mons Representatives with U.S.S.R.

p3 of 8wpF

Following from Bajpai.

My telegram No. 588 of August 8th.

Security Council. I would suggest that if we are seriously thinking of contesting elections we should at least immediately take up question of reciprocal exchange of diplomatic Representatives with U.S.S.R. They have recently opposed applications for membership of United Nations on grounds inter alia that they have no diplomatic relations with applicants concerned. It is quite possible that they will put forward this objection to our attempt to join Security Council.

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copy by

HM: "S"(2): P.S: J.S: D.S.(CC): Mr Menon: P.S.V:
Cabinet Sect. + copy to X for.

R.L.

(12) (15) -94- D.1500-X/46 47 96

Subtl Am. S- 20/9

Copy for Copy/X

RECEIPT

CYPHER TELEGRAM O.T.P. TOP SECRET 9037(9)

From.....Inverchapel, Washington
To.....Govgenext, New Delhi
No. 699
Dated 18th (recd 19th)September 1946.

T.O.O. 2115
T.O.R. 2215

.....

I M P O R T A N T.

TOP SECRET

Following from Bajpai. wsr wp

Your telegram No. 8005 dated September 16th.

Both U.S.A. and U.K. delegations will back us for representation on all the six Commissions. WINANT and NOEL BAKER to whom I have spoken personally have assured of their support. The French should also be helpful but would, in return, probably expect us to support their effort for locating headquarters of International Health Organisation in Paris. Historically there is much to be said for their request and some geographical decentralisation of specialised agencies of United Nations would have practical as well as political advantage. For instance, it would be more convenient for us to send delegates for Health Organisation to Paris than to New York. I shall be grateful for early instructions as to whether, if necessary, we could offer support for Paris as quid pro quo for French support of our candidature for the commissions. This horse-trading may be unseemly but I fear is inevitable in the present atmosphere of International bargaining.

by ch
by trans.

2. It is impossible to foretell Russian attitude. They are extremely reticent and non-commital, except to their own SATELLITES. If we wish them to open out, not only on this but other matters, I think that we must expedite exchange of diplomatic representatives between New Delhi and Moscow.

.....

H.M : SUPTD C & C BRANCH : FS : JS: DS(CC): MR MENON: PSV :
CABINET SECY : COPY TO SUPTD X. BRANCH: SECY HEALTH DEPTT

EH

-98-

SECRET 8370

CYPHER TELEGRAM OTP. No. 8370 dated 26th Sep: 1946
From--- Foreign, New Delhi.
To----- Inverchapel. Washington.

DESPATCH

Important.

Following for Bajpai. Your telegram 699 September 18th. Exchange of diplomatic representatives with Russia.

2. For your own information only at present Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has made personal approach to Molotov as in immediately succeeding telegram for supply from Russia of foodgrain. Secondary object of approach is to obtain indication of Soviet Government's attitude towards India and if possible prepare way for future direct diplomatic relations. No further progress in this matter possible until Russian reaction to this approach appears.

3. As for possibility of Soviet objection to India's candidature for Security Council on ground of absence of direct diplomatic relations since Soviet did not oppose India's admission to U.N.O. on this ground there is no analogy with their opposition to Eire etc.

,,,,,,,,,,,

HM: X BR(3) F.S: JS(X) DS(LR) MRMENON P.S.V.
CABINET SECRETARY & SECY FOOD DEPTT(2)

FSD

-96- (17)(1K)

D 1666-X/46

SECRET 8371

CYPHER TELEGRAM O.T.P. No. 8371 dated 26th Sep: 1946
From--- Foreign, New Delhi.
To..... Inverchapel. Washington.

Following for Bajpai. Our immediately preceding telegram. Following is repetition of Pandit Nehru's message to Molotov. Begins. * xx xx xx xx xx xx xx xx Ends.

*C&S Dy: No.8246 of 23rd Sept:-

,,,,,,,,,,,

HM: X BR(3) FS: JS(X) DS(LR) MR MENON P.S.V.
CABINET SECY: & SECY FOOD DEPTT(2)

FSD

(±) (18)(18) -97-

47, STRAND
LONDON, W.C.2.
TEMPLE BAR 3689.

30th September 1946.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
NEW DELHI.

My dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

As desired by you, I informed the Secretary of State for India immediately on my arrival here on the 24th instant that you desired me to see him. Lord Pethick-Lawrence was good enough to arrange for me to see him the next day at 12 noon. I was with him for about half-an-hour, and conveyed to him your greetings and my impressions of the situation in India. I particularly drew his Lordship's attention to the acute food situation and the likelihood of its being seriously aggravated if the supplies of rice from Indonesia are held up. The Secretary of State assured me that this issue was receiving the serious consideration of His Majesty's Government, and that the Government of India would be aware of what was being done in this respect. I also informed him that I was going to Paris during the week to see M. Molotov on your behalf.

Yours sincerely,

P. Krishna Menon

(7) (E6) (19) -98-

47, STRAND
LONDON, W.C.2.
TEMPLE BAR 3669.

30th September 1946.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
NEW DELHI.

My dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

S.No.(5) As instructed by you when I was at New Delhi, and further to your cipher message communicated through the High Commissioner for India, I made arrangements to see M. Molotov as soon after my arrival here as possible. I went to Paris on Friday 27th September, and had an interview with M. Molotov at the Soviet Embassy there at 12 o'clock on Saturday 28th.

M. Molotov expressed his sympathy with the Indian people and the new Government of India, and said that he felt it his duty to explain to me the food situation in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government had hoped to end rationing in 1946, but owing to drought and consequent bad failure of crops in the South-West territories of the U.S.S.R., the granary of the Soviet Union, the Government's plan had to be abandoned. Bread was rationed and scarcity would continue through 1946. He wished Pandit Nehru to know, and hoped he would appreciate the food position in the Soviet Union.

These observations, he added, were of a preliminary character. He would refer the matter to the Soviet Government and send a precise reply. He also added that the question was entirely one of resources, and he felt sure the Soviet Govern-

47, STRAND
LONDON, W.C.2.
TEMPLE BAR 3689.

(22)

101

ment had every desire to assist.

I am left with the impression that there is little prospect of any food supplies immediately, but that we would be able to obtain supplies in 1947, when it is anticipated that the food position in the U.S.S.R. would have improved.

The rest of my interview with M. Molotov was concerned with the wider issues contained in your letter to him. I am happy to report that this part of the interview was entirely satisfactory. The Soviet Government would welcome the opening of diplomatic, cultural and social relations with India, and that it is always the desire of the Soviet Government to maintain good and friendly relations. M. Molotov desired me to convey to you, the new Government of India and the Indian people the sympathy of the Soviet people and Government, and welcomed the fact that "bright prospects have opened up before the people of India".

M. Molotov next inquired what practical steps we could take to implement our common desires, and I said I would be glad to go to Moscow and continue our talks there if he so wished. He cordially responded, and said he would be glad to make arrangements. We agreed that the later half of November would be a suitable time, in view of U.N.O. meetings and other engagements.

The new Soviet Ambassador in London will keep in touch with me, and give any assistance required.

47, STRAND
LONDON, W.C.2.
TEMPLE BAR 3669.

(23)
102

In the course of our talk, I informed him of our general approach to world affairs and other countries, which I told him was contained in your broadcast speech on assumption of office and your public statements later. Throughout I adhered closely to your instructions to me, and said that our country desired and would seek friendly relations with the United Kingdom and with the British Dominions and other countries.

The Soviet Government would welcome press representatives, or students or such other visitors as we desire to send there, and it was agreed that I could discuss these matters and arrangements thereof when I was in Moscow after I have your instructions as to what are our precise and progressive requirements in this direction.

I am expecting to meet the Soviet Ambassador in London shortly to discuss arrangements for visiting Moscow, as I have to initiate these arrangements before I leave for the United States.

I would like to add that I received every assistance from the First Counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in London and the Deputy High Commissioner for India, each of whom independently made contacts with M. Molotov in Paris and arrangements for the interview. The Deputy High Commissioner also arranged for my travel to Paris and back and for my stay there, and I am grateful to him for his assistance. His own routine visit to Paris to meet the High Commissioner happily coincided with mine, and it was also helpful.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

V K Krishna Menon

Personal and Confidential. (E)(B)(20) -100-

INTERVIEW WITH M. MOLOTOV 28. 9.46.

Detailed Report.

1. On arrival here I pursued the contact made by the India League office with the Soviet Embassy to arrange for the Molotov interview. In the absence of M. Cusev in France, I saw the First Counsellor, Koukin, on 25th September, the day after my arrival.

I did not discuss details with Koukin, but indicated that the interview covered food and wider issues which required my seeing the Soviet Commissar at once. He undertook to get in touch with Paris immediately.

The reply came from M. Molotov to the Soviet Embassy saying he would be glad to see me on Saturday 28th September, and that the time would be fixed after my arrival in Paris on Friday 27th.

2. I saw Vellodi at India House on Wednesday 25th September, the day after my arrival. It was also an official call on the High Commissioner for India (absent in Paris).

I showed Mr. Vellodi your credential letter and also gave him your message that I had your confidence.

Mr. Vellodi was most helpful. He also got in touch with our delegation in Paris, with the result that Sir Samuel Runganadhan also mentioned to Molotov that I was coming and would like to see him.

M. Molotov asked Sir Samuel Runganadhan to convey to me his "salutations", and said that he was hoping to see me on Saturday.

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3. The interview took place at the Soviet Embassy in Paris at 12 o'clock. Initially I asked him to overlook the fact that I was calling on him in Paris and not in Moscow, and also that I appreciated that he was heavily committed with regard to the Peace Conference matters. I accepted my observations with great courtesy and said that he was very glad to see me.

After a little more talk about people whom we knew and his inquiries about you, I plunged into the business for which I had come.

Your letter to him had been sent to him the previous day so that it could be translated. At the interview his interpreter, Pavlov, who knew me, was also present.

4. Food. He explained that last spring the Soviet Government had decided to abolish rationing in 1946, but they now find that they cannot carry the decision but hoped that they would end rationing in 1947. Bread is rationed, and he said "We are experiencing difficulties".

The new Indian Government and the people of India, he said, had their utmost sympathy, and added: "Nehru need not doubt that the Soviet Government takes a sympathetic stand with India and with the new Government . . and welcomes the fact that bright prospects have opened up before the Indian people. I therefore deem it my duty to explain to you at length the situation of our food supply". These remarks, he added, were however "of a preliminary character", and he cannot say at present what can be done later, and that he would give a precise reply in writing as soon as possible. I gently mentioned the question of even small assistance, and he explained to me in a very friendly way that the Soviet Government as a matter of principle and as good practice avoided making gestures and giving symbolic assistance, as this would be interpreted as a measure dictated by political considerations. "We are ready and anxious to assist if we can", he said. He would take it up with his Govemment. We then left the food question.

5. I said we would now go to the next part of Pandit Nehru's letter, and explained that my work was one of goodwill and exploration, to initiate contacts with a view to opening up relations between our two countries in all respects, including diplomatic. That we desired these relations to be direct, as would also the Soviet Government. That our foreign policy was independent, but that we were not out to quarrel with anybody or to emphasise our differences with anyone. That the

new Government desired and hoped that our relations with the United Kingdom and the British Dominions and with all other countries would be of the most friendly character.

Further, that India was not an independent country but that our Foreign Minister and Government would use their position to assert and establish independent relations to the best of their ability. This meant that the British Foreign Office would be kept informed and that the respective Embassies also would be informed, generally speaking.

M. Molotov appeared to understand all this, and also seemed anxious not to create any hitches or difficulties. He was personally most friendly, even apart from the subject of the discussion.

He inquired whether we would be allowed to do these things, and whether our representatives abroad, at conferences or in other places, would carry out the instructions of the new Government, and also what practical steps could be taken.

Either then or just before, he said that he felt sure that the Soviet Government reciprocated Pandit Nehru's sentiments, and was willing and ready for diplomatic, social and cultural relations to be opened up between the two countries.

The question of the status of our respective representations was talked over. Here again he was most helpful. I said to him that so far as we were concerned, in view of our having to do everything for the first time, we might have to accomplish our objective in one, two or three stages. (I meant thereby that we may not be in a position to accredit a Minister or an Ambassador straight away). But I thought that our Government would understand that the Soviet Government would like to be represented in India at least on the same level as the Governments of the United States and China. M. Molotov said that they would like their representation to be the best that was possible, and no doubt implied that it could not be lower than the United States or China.

We then came to the practical steps. I had said to him that this was only a preliminary talk. I told him that I was going to different capitals, and he then asked whether he could make arrangements for me to go to Moscow. It was suggested and agreed that the later half of November would be a suitable time, and he said that he would be glad to make the arrangements. The Soviet Ambassador in Britain would be in touch with me with regard to various formalities.

I then raised other matters. Firstly, the question of sending missions. I mentioned that you were anxious that our Government should send to Russia some responsible Indian press men so that India would know more about the Soviet Union at first hand. He agreed to this, and it is to be further taken up at our November discussions, when I said I would be able to put to him what we desired in this direction after consultation with you.

I mentioned students, and he said the Soviet Union would welcome them and give them any facilities required. Here again details would be discussed in Moscow, when I would know what facilities there were and you would have instructed me as to what we require.

Molotov also said that when relations were established, all these things would be easy, and that he hoped that Indian public men would visit the Soviet Union.

My next approach was on the subject of experts. I knew this was rather a ticklish subject, but was able to get home. Molotov agreed to this in principle but it really was a question of detail. When relations were established, all these things were possible, and they would give every assistance. I casually even mentioned military experts for our military schools of the future. He said that between two friendly countries no assistance should be barred, and gave me to understand that if we so desired we would be able to make whatever arrangements suited us without any conditions attached.

Asian Conference. I mentioned the subject of the Asian Conference, and had to explain its character at some length because he knew nothing about it. I made it clear that it was a non-official conference in which you were interested. I mentioned that invitations had been or would be sent to Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union, and that the Kremlin would be informed. I was agreeably surprised that he welcomed it most warmly, and said that it was an extremely "good idea". I took care to mention that this conference was not some sort of reflection of Pan-Asia or a parallel to the conception of the United States of Europe; that it was not isolationism or the precursor of some power bloc. He appeared to be impressed by our desire in that way, and said that the Soviet Government would do everything to assist. He said that the Asiatic Republics would be represented through organisations as we required, and that the Governments of the Republics would send observers also as required. He quite understood that the Soviet Government itself could not be invited to this conference. I experienced no difficulty on the subject.

I also mentioned that possibly a conference of subject peoples, including the Africans, may take place at the same time, but unconnected with the Asiatic Conference. He appeared anxious to be clear about this difference, or at least gave me this impression, that is, that the Conference was a conference of Asiatic countries. I think he said something about their representatives and us learning from each other.

South Africa. I raised this question, and he said that his Government would support the case of oppressed minorities and that we could look to their assistance at U.N.O.

We went back to diplomatic and general relations, and he said that he had no doubt that the Soviet Government would take a very favourable view of all these, and that they had always desired diplomatic relations. On their side they would make all the arrangements both for my visit, for further steps and for the establishment of their representation in India.

I also mentioned, but not apologetically, and

(27)

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as you had asked me to, that there were sometimes irresponsible statements in India about the Soviet Union and its policy. These did not represent the policy of the Government or Pandit Nehru's views. Often they were made by people who had no responsibility for policy. In any case, it largely arose out of the fact that the contacts between the two countries were inadequate, and that our sources of information were not direct. At first he said that it was not always irresponsible people who made these statements, but all he could say was that if responsible persons made them, it must be left to their consciences. The observation appeared to be very sincerely made. I was rather surprised at this reference to conscience! However, he soon dismissed that, and said that all this would improve when we had proper relations on a businesslike basis, and that if things were wrong then, they could be set right - or words to that effect.

I told him at some stage of our conversation, not quite at the end, that I was new to this kind of work, though of course I was not new to the problem, and that he must not expect the approach from me that an experienced diplomat would make. This also gave us an opportunity for something to be said about diplomatic cadres, and he said that they had the same difficulty, but that you will find things are not so difficult as they appear. He then went on to express his appreciation of the way I put things to him, and generally complimented me on the interview. He again said "Pandit Nehru has our best wishes", and that "he and the new Government must be congratulated on sending you as personal representative". He also welcomed the early approach we had made. He made one or two inquiries about who was coming to India from China and the United States, and said that this was a historic meeting and that he would issue a statement in the Soviet Union about the interview we had had.

I made a few notes at the time, and the rest of it I am writing from memory. When I am in the Soviet Union for detailed discussions, I think I will take my secretary with me, as so many details crop up. He has his interpreter anyway, who writes down what he says to translate it to me, though of course he understands what I say.

I think I have faithfully reported to you all that took place, and only wish to add that I came out after 95 minutes with the impression that your decision to take this step had been fully justified. Also that not the least of India's assistance abroad at the present time is your own personality and the regard people have for your approach to international affairs.

MEETING WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF MANY NATIONS.

Sir Samuel Runganadhan invited representatives of countries that had come to the Peace Conference and some others to meet me on Friday evening, 27th September.

There were present leading representatives from almost all the European countries, and from Iraq, Turkey and China. There were men of ambassadorial rank, or Ministers of State. New Zealand and Australia sent their delegates at the Peace Conference, but not their first men. Field Marshal Smuts also sent a General to represent him. The British Delegation sent a rather junior man. The wives of some of the Ambassadors also came. I was very glad to see our old friend, Dr. Quo ta-chi, who you may remember was Chinese Ambassador in London before the war, and is now in New York as Chinese permanent representative on the U.N.O.

I spoke to most of the delegates, and countries as different as Norway and Czechoslovakia were anxious to have closer contacts with us. Several of them asked me to their capitals as soon as I could go, but since it was not a business talk I made suitable responses and expressed the hope that we would meet again. Czechoslovakia was represented by Clementis, the Vice Minister. He spoke to me about the Magyar problem. They wanted the Magyars to go to Hungary. They are proposing to compensate them fully and treat them fairly in every way. Hungary has room for a million and a half people. There are Germans there who should be repatriated to Germany. Hungary does not dispute that the treatment of Magyars by Czechoslovakia is fair, but according to the Czechs, they want the Magyars to remain in Czechoslovakia, again according to the Czechs, with a view to using them as the Sudeten Germans were used. I told Mr. Clementis that I would convey the facts to you.

Copy of letter No.4402, dated 30th September 1946, from the U.S.S.R. Trade Agent in India, Calcutta, to the Secy. to the Govt. of India, Deptt. of Commerce, New Delhi.

Referring to my letter No. 4401 of the 10th of September 1946 I regret to inform you, that the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. advised me, that owing to food shortage in the Soviet Union, they are not in a position to export food grains to India at present time.

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(22) -107- D2166-x/46

47, STRAND
LONDON, W.C.2.
TEMPLE BAR 3689.

12th October, 1946.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
NEW DELHI.

My dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I enclose herewith the original of M. Molotov's letter sent to me by the Charge d'Affaires in London to be forwarded to you. The contents of this were communicated to you by cable on 4th October.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

V K Krishna Menon.

Translation of p. 35 infra

-108-

Unofficial translation.

Paris, 2nd October, 1946.

Dear Mr. Nehru,

I thank you for your letter and for the greetings from the Government of India and Indian people to the Government of the U.S.S.R. and myself which you have conveyed through Mr. Krishna Menon.

In reply to your proposal the Soviet Government express their readiness to develop friendly relations with India and to exchange diplomatic and other representatives with your country which is, undoubtedly, in the interests of both countries.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. have with all attention considered your request for food aid to India. However, owing to the drought in a number of important agricultural districts of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Government, unfortunately, are unable this year to send any amount of cereals to India.

In admitting the existence of particular difficulties which are to be overcome at the beginning by the new Indian Government and by you personally, I wish you success in your work to perform the tasks facing the new Indian Government for the good of all Indian people.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) V. Molotov.

His Excellency
Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru,
Deputy President of the Interim Indian Government and
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Париж, 2 октября 1946 года.

Уважаемый г-н Неру,

Благодарю Вас за Ваше письмо и за переданные Вами через г-на Кришну Менона приветствия Правительства Индии и индийского народа Правительству СССР и лично мне.

В ответ на Ваше предложение Советское Правительство выражает готовность развивать дружественные отношения с Индией, а также обменяться с Вашей страной дипломатическими и другими представителями, что, несомненно, отвечает интересам обеих стран.

Правительство СССР со всей внимательностью рассмотрело представленную Вами просьбу о продовольственной помощи Индии. Однако, ввиду засухи в ряде важных сельскохозяйственных районов СССР, Советское Правительство, к сожалению, не сможет в этом году послать в Индию какое-либо количество зерновых.

Признавая наличие особых трудностей, которые новому Правительству Индии и лично Вам предстоит преодолеть в первое время, выражаю пожелание успеха Вашей деятельности в осуществлении задач нового индийского правительства на благо всего народа Индии.

С искренним уважением

В. Молотов.

Его Превосходительству
Господину Джавахарлалу Неру,
Заместителю Председателя Временного
Правительства Индии и
Министру Иностранных Дел.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Visit to Moscow.
Note for the information of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

You will recall that in my previous note to you on this subject, I informed you that it had been suggested in my talks with Molotov that they should be continued in Moscow with a view to taking practical steps for the establishment of diplomatic relations. The time suggested then was the second half of November.

The actual time of going would probably be conditioned by the date of Molotov's return from U.N.O. I will know more about this when I am in New York.

After receiving your cable of 4th October, I saw the Charge d'Affaires in London, and took further steps with regard to the visit, about which he had apparently been informed by his Government. He is making the necessary arrangements for a visa, etc.

I could not tell him who would be going with me as staff, and I shall have to inform him further on this matter. I would like to receive your instructions on this. I have already mentioned that it would not be advisable or practicable for me to go alone. I would have to take a secretary who is accustomed to working with me, as well as some man who can assist. It would not be necessary at this stage to take a senior official, but someone like Bonarjee from the High Commissioner's office would be adequate. Unless you decide to send someone from India, for which there may not be time, I would ask for instructions as to who should be taken and whether I should have more than one. I could usefully take with me one or two young men who desire to enter the diplomatic service and who could gain some experience and also help me with some questions of economic and trade matters, as well as the secretarial assistance. It should be possible to find such persons here from among those who would soon be returning to India.

I would again recall to your mind that during the Molotov interview I took up several matters. I would like to receive instructions from the appropriate Departments of the Government of India and from yourself on each of these questions.

The issues at the next stage would relate to the first steps in the opening of diplomatic and other relations.

Some of the objectives that suggest themselves to me as having to be discussed are:-

(1) The sending of delegations from India.

(2) Preliminary mention of mutual trade interests.

(3) The receiving of Indian students.

(4) Food.

(5) Exploration of the possibilities of assistance in any of our development schemes (in a preliminary way).

(6) Cultural contacts and representation at science conferences etc.

Much of the talks at this stage would no doubt remain exploratory, but I would have to be briefed by the Departments concerned on practical aspects and requirements.

The question of the Russians sending their own diplomatic delegation to India for the purpose of establishing their offices there will also no doubt arise. It may be that this stage will not be reached until I have reported to you on the Moscow conversations.

I would like your instructions also on the agenda of the field to be specifically covered. I feel little doubt that the Russians will have theirs.

I also ask that instructions may be issued to the High Commissioner's office with regard to facilities and travel and other arrangements.

V.K.Krishna Menon.

19th October, 1946.

Pol.S
30/X
The same as SNW(22)
ecpS 1117/28/46

(24). -112- J) 2283-X/46

Paris.
October 2nd 1946.

Dear Mr. Nehru,

I thank you for your letter and for your conveyance through Mr. Krishna Menon of the greetings of the Indian Government and the Indian people to the Government of the U.S.S.R. and to me personally.

In reply to your offer, the Soviet Government expresses readiness to develop friendly relations with India and also to exchange diplomatic and other representatives with your country, which will undoubtedly answer the interests of both countries.

The Government of the USSR has studied with closest attention the question brought up by you regarding help in food supplies for India. However, in view of the drought in many of the most important agricultural districts of the USSR, the Soviet Government regrets that it is unable this year to send to India any quantities of food grains whatsoever.

Recognising the presence of the peculiar difficulties which the new Government of India and you personally will have to overcome at first, I express best wishes for the success of your activities in realising the undertaking of a new Indian Government for the welfare of the whole people of India.

With sincere respect

V. Molotov.

His Excellency
Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru,
Acting President of the Provisional
Government of India and Minister of
Foreign Affairs.

.....

P.S (LR) 1117 28/X
~~U.S.(X) [illegible]~~ Reed 29.X
X
28/X

(Above is Mr. Vasani's translation.
A very creditable effort. Flag with relevant file)
27/Oct/46

Париж, 2 октября 1946 года.

Уважаемый Г-н Неру,

Благодарю Вас за Ваше письмо и за переданные Вами через Г-на Кришну Менона приветствия Правительства Индии и Индийского народа Правительству СССР и лично мне.

В ответ на Ваше предложение Советское Правительство выражает готовность развивать дружественные отношения с Индией, а также обменяться с Вашей страной дипломатическими и другими представителями, что несомненно отвечает интересам обеих стран.

Правительство СССР со всей внимательностью рассмотрело представленную Вами просьбу о продовольственной помощи Индии. Однако, ввиду засухи в ряде важных сельскохозяйственных районов СССР, Советское Правительство, к сожалению, не сможет в этом году послать в Индию какое-либо количество зерновых.

Признавая наличие особых трудностей, которые новому Правительству Индии и лично Вам предстоит преодолеть в первое время, выражаю пожелание успеха Вашей деятельности в осуществлении задач нового Индийского Правительства на благо всего народа Индии.

С искренним уважением

В. МОЛОТОВ.

Его Превосходительству
Господину Джавахарлалу Неру,
Заместителю Председателя Временного
Правительства Индии и Министру
Иностранных Дел.

Paris.
October 2nd 1946.

Dear Mr. Nehru,

I thank you for your letters and for your conveyance through Mr. Krishna Menon of the greetings of the Indian Government and the Indian people to the Government of the U.S.S.R. and to me personally.

In reply to your offer, the Soviet Government expresses readiness to develop friendly relations with India and also to exchange diplomatic and other representatives with your country, which will undoubtedly answer the interests of both countries.

The Government of the USSR has studied with closest attention the question brought up by you regarding help in food supplies for India. However, in view of the drought in many of the most important agricultural districts of the USSR, the Soviet Government regrets that it is unable this year to send to India any quantities of food grains whatsoever.

Recognising the presence of the peculiar difficulties which the new Government of India and you personally will have to overcome at first, I express best wishes for the success of your activities in realising the undertaking of a new Indian Government for the welfare of the whole people of India.

With sincere respect

V. Molotov.

His Excellency
Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru,
Acting President of the Provisional
Government of India and Minister of
Foreign Affairs.

.....

(25) 115

DESPATCH

SECRET
10081

Telegram O.T.P. No. 10081 dated 27th November 1946.
From.....Governor General (External Affairs Department), New Delhi.
To.....Secretary of State for India, London.

Government of India are appointing K.P.S. Menon of the Indian Political Service as their Special Representative to visit Moscow after the conclusion of the General Assembly to continue on an official level the conversations begun by Krishna Menon regarding the exchange of diplomatic representation between India and the USSR. We should be grateful if you would kindly instruct H.M.'s Ambassador in Moscow to give K.P.S. Menon such assistance as he may require.

2. Government of India are also appointing V.K.Krishna Menon as their Special Representative in order to conduct informal conversations with Governments of other countries in Western Europe on the subject of exchange of Diplomatic Representatives. We should be glad if H.M.'s Ambassadors and Ministers in the places concerned could be asked to give Krishna Menon such assistance as he may require. The names of the Capitals which he will visit will be communicated to you shortly when his itinerary is decided. Provisionally, we propose that he should visit Paris, Brussels, The Hague, Copenhagen, Oslo, Stockholm, Prague and Berne. It is not proposed to open permanent Missions in more than a few European countries at present; but arrangements will be made for one Mission to cover also nearby countries in the manner already adopted by a number of other countries in the process of developing their diplomatic contacts.

HM: X, BR(3) E.A. DEPTT:(ALL OFFICERS) PSV CABINET SECY: C.R. & FINANCE DEPARTMENTS.

D.Z.B.(38)
recd.28.11.46.

Ins.S 29/11 (26) 11 42

BR(3)

-116-

DISPATCH

SECRET.
10078.

Telegram O.T.P. No. 10078 dated 27th November 1946.
From.....Foreign, New Delhi.
To.....Consul-General, New York.

Following for K.P.S. MENON, India Delegation.

Government of India have appointed you their Special Representative for the purpose of visiting Moscow in order to continue on official level the discussions regarding exchange of diplomatic representation between India and the USSR begun informally in Krishna Menon's conversations with Molotov. They would be glad if you would proceed to Moscow immediately after the close of the General Assembly. Your credentials in the form of a letter from H.M. to M.Molotov and detailed instructions will be sent to the High Commissioner's Office in London by air mail and you are requested to pick them up there. Meanwhile you will no doubt be able to make arrangements through the Soviet Delegation to UNO for your visa, your reception in Moscow and your conversations there. Main object of your visit will be to fix up all detailed arrangements required for the establishment of our diplomatic mission in Moscow, since we understand that preliminary negotiation on a number of points is essential before Mission can be opened. HM's Ambassador will be requested to give you such assistance as you may need. Krishna Menon, to whom we are telegraphing separately, will not go to Moscow but will initiate informal conversations in other countries in Europe.

HM: X BR (3) EA DEPTT (ALL OFFICERS) PSV.
CABINET SECY C.R. & FINANCE DEPTT.

EY.
28th Nov.

X. Pol (3) hm.S 29/11

DESPATCH (27)

SECRET.
10070

43

Telegram Grade 'B' No.10070 dated 27th November 1946.

From..... Foreign, New Delhi.

To..... British Consul - General, New York.

Following for Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Please refer to instructions sent separately to Krishna Menon (X) and K P S Menon. Should like you to explain to Molotov steps we are taking now on official plan for exchange of diplomatic representatives with USSR. Have already written to you fully on this subject in my letter dated November 14th.

(X) on separate file = S No (26)

H.M: 'X' BR (3) EA DT (ALL OFFICERS)
Copy to PS BR. C.R. AND FINANCE DEPARTMENTS.

DL.
28th Nov.

-411-

(28) -118- D2355-X/46

No.9737/4-K-(3)-Poll
Home Department (Political).
Bombay Castle, 23rd October 1946.

From

G.G. Drewe, Esquire.,O.B.E.,I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,
External Affairs Department.

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of the Government of India, a copy of an article headed -- "Decoration - Piece for Moscow" published in the issue dated the 6th October 1946 of the Kaiser-i-Hind, an Anglo Gujarati weekly of Bombay.

Your obedient servant,

for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

Kaiser-i-Hind Dt. 6/10/46 (Bombay)

Decoration-piece For Moscow!

Pt. Nehru's Anxiety To Exchange Do-Nothing Ambassadors

Waste Of Time And Money To Maintain Pompous Relations

PANDIT Jawaharlal Nehru seems to be bent upon establishing some kind of "diplomatic" relation with Soviet Russia. The very first emissary sent out was to Molotov to see if Russia would accept a semi-or demi-official ambassador in Moscow. Just at present, it would also suit Russia, unless Stalin's Government thinks it would create trouble for Soviet Government to establish even a semi-or quasi-diplomatic relation with India. There can be no question of full fledged Embassy in Moscow, so long as India is part of the British Empire. Even Jawaharlal cannot start "diplomatic" relations with any country, unless he wants to embroil himself with the British Cabinet, which we do not think he wants. Even if Molotov is ready to arrange for such an innocuous representation, it will not please Britain till at least a Dominion status is attained. Therefore we fail to understand why Jawaharlal should be in a hurry to set up a fullfledged embassy in Moscow. There is no food or machines to be got from Moscow.

Caged Ambassadors In Moscow

Moscow will have to be the last place where diplomatic relation should be sought. For there is no advantage in putting a man where there can be no "relation". It will be just waste of money in Moscow. The ambassadors of biggest powers are sitting there as in a cage, not allowed to receive any communications or visits from outside. Their only dealings are with the officials when there is necessity. For months, the ambassadors do not see any ministers (commissars), especially during peace. **Russia wants not diplomatic relations but credits from abroad. Is Jawaharlal ready or able to supply goods which Russia wants?**

Always Under Watch

If the biggest powers have still embassies in Moscow, it is because they want to see what is going on there. But since none are allowed to visit the embassies—secret servicemen watch who goes in and comes out and arrest him unless he is a foreign office official, the embassies are just prisons for the ambassadors. The only connections the ambassadors have is with the journalists of their own countries who themselves are prisoners in their hotels—always watched and not allowed to approach anyone. None of the foreigners can invite Russians to their homes, least of all the embassies can—unless the Russians have official sanction from the Government to enter there which cannot be got and even if got is risky for their lives. All Russians shun foreigners like lepers, for they may invite upon themselves death. What can an Indian 'ambassador" do there? Unless he intrigues with Russia and tries to do some service for Stalin's government, he cannot have any intimate relations with the Government. **Who is not for us is against us is the principle of Soviet Government.** If it is one way mission which India wants or Russia wants —then a P. C. Joshi can do as ambassador in Russia. He will also be good riddance. But a neutral ambassador is of no use in Moscow. He will not get any information except that which is supplied in print by the propaganda departments of the Soviet Government.

They Drink, Dine & Dance !

The only occasion when an Ambassador can meet others is at official functions like Stalin's or King's birthday or at the parties arranged by the Government and the various embassies. It may be interesting to drink, dine and dance on such occasions, but not for **business.** Ambassadors must hold their tongues. Moreover, mixing among Russians is taboo both for foreigners and Russians. Russia is a dictatorship country and dictators are too jealous of the ordinary subjects. Some young nincompoop can be sent there to amuse himself. He will be pleased to shake hands with officials and dine at parties—given also by officials. If such on "important" work is intended to be carried out by Pt. Nehru, then he may throw away our money for the pomp of having an embassy establishment in the name of India.

Cultural Relations

Of course, people talk of "cultural relations", i.e. exchange of cultural values, such as arranging lectures, exhibitions, dance and paintings &c. The Soviet Government can always send its posters and lecturers to this country if it wants, here there is no restriction and censorship. They may even be appreciated in spite of the propaganda value for Soviet Government and Stalin. But in Russia, lectures are only allowed on approved Marxian models. They will be censored beforehand. Of course, our Indians cannot address an audience in Russian, while many Russians can speak in English, French or German, some even in Oriental languages. We have no censorship for lectures or posters. So even on cultural side, the relations will be only for one side. But we don't mind it. On the other hand, Russia—i. e. Soviet Government, not the people, is jealous of spoken and written word and even suspects counter-revolution in pictures. The only things that Russians can freely appreciate is Indian dances, not even Indian stage performances.

Re-duplication

Truly, all this can be arranged without any Ambassador in Moscow kept up the whole year there at great expense for the pomp of it. We can have cultural and other relations with Russia if only they locate a representative in Delhi to deal with the Indian Government. That will be enough for our purposes. This ambassador or minister or representative can act as a go—between between our Government and his. After all he must have something to do and he will be glad to do what will be allowed by his masters in Russia. Why reduplicate his effort by sending a man to sit in Moscow working at the other end? The Indian poor will have to foot the bill—for the glory of having a do-nothing ambassador. The whole talk of establishing a permament embassy in Moscow is queer!

Not Yet Out Of British "Woods"

Of course, this constitutes a long term programme which cannot be carried out in the near future, not only because a war may break out in which we will have to side with England, but also because we are not yet out of the British (Woods) Empire nor even have attained Dominion status. Let us be realists instead of being dreamers. Because we have not had any Government of our own for the last two hundred years, we think it will add to the prestige of our Government when we throw feelers for "contact with foreign Governments" — especially with Soviet Government. By establishing embassies, we are not contacting peoples, especially the Russians. It will be a useless show at enormous expense, but surely, it will give jobs, soft jobs to some who are favoured. We are not enthusiastic about this wild-goose scheme.

★

Pageantry reminiscent of old Royalties has evidently attracted wizard Nehru who is eager to show that India is not less powerful than other Powers. But, in view of the true plight of an Ambassador in Moscow, we believe that the Indian Government is merely sending a decoration piece to Moscow.

Special

MIKHAIL BOTVINNIK

—CHESS CHAMPION Of The U. S. S. R. Will Write In Kaiser-i-Hind

Look-out

No YOU Meeting Tomorrow

As the Curfew has been again put to 7 p.m., the meeting of Youths' Own Union—YOU—will not be held tomorrow.

It is proposed to hold the YOU meeting on Sundays until the city situation eases. Look out for the announcement next week.

harming and vivacious Atiya Begum whose brilliance and animation surely ince the dumbness of the ming millions of India." c Link, later, in one of his recent books pays the Begum a similar tribute, underscored by most people one has met who are connoisseurs of personality and can appreciate its subtle flavour.

IQBAL'S GEMS

I was reminded of this, reading her delightful monograph on Iqbal, the man and the poet, whose inspiring verses "Hindustan Hamara" provide a somewhat ironic commentary on the happenings of the day. Graduating in modern philosophy at Cambridge and Munich, Iqbal whose philosophy owes much to Nietzsche and Bergson, became in his maturer years a religious enthusiast, "decrying at the same time nationalism and imperialism which he observed **"rob us of Paradise."** His aspirations were sublime, his vision lofty and inspiring. He prayed that he might.

....**"Lead home the wanderer, and imbue the idle looker-on with restless impatience**
And advance hotly on a new quest,
And become known as the champion of a new spirit...."

VOICE OF TOMORROW

In India Iqbal found himself in an environment, of the limitations of which he was too painfully and tragically aware. And although he died an embittered and disillusioned man he proclaimed the true artist's essential faith in himself:

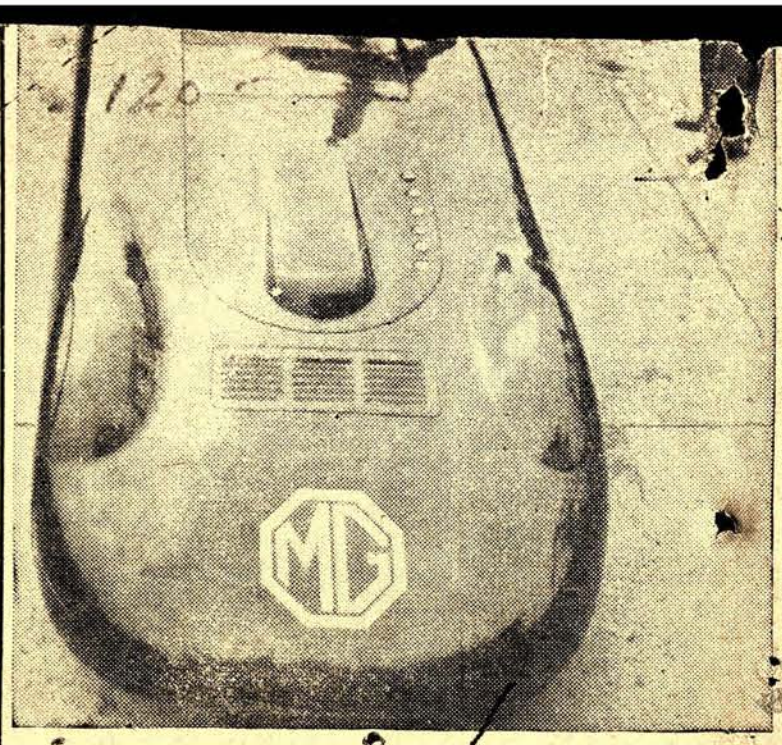
"I have no need of the ear of Today, I am the **voice** of the poet of **Tomorrow"**. It is a pity, so little of his work is adequately translated and one hopes that the deficiency will be made good in the near future.

* * * *

A recent issue of **The Reader's Digest** contains the following amusing story: "During the reign of Queen Victoria, **Sarah Bernhardt** appeared on the London stage in the role of Cleopatra. On this particular night Bernhardt was at her best as Egypt's fiery queen. She stabbed the unfortunate slave who had brought the tidings of Antony's defeat at Actium, raved, wrecked the palace, and finally, as the curtain fell, dropped in a heap in the wreckage.

During a lull in the thunderous applause which followed, a middle-aged British matron was heard to remark in tones of great satisfaction to her companion, **"How different, how very different from the home life of our own dear queen!"**..

Yours, with love,
LULU.



Colonel "Goldie" Garoner standing by his 7 h.p. M.G. car at Abidgdon where final preparations are being made for his attempt to beat the German held record of 146 m.p.h. for cars of this class. Note the peculiar shaped steering wheel held by a colleague on the right of the picture.

* * * * * * * *

CAMPBELL AT IT AGAIN

Major Sir Malcolm Campbell is also pushing ahead with plans to break his **141.7 miles per hour world water-speed record** with a jet-engined Bluebird.

Sir Malcolm, now 61, underwent a painful and delicate eye operation a few months ago. "That saved me from blindness but now I fear I shall have to have an operation on the other eye", he said, "so I am anxious to press on with the record attempt".

Sir Malcolm first broke the land speed record in 1931.

Shape Of Cycles To Come

MACHINE FITTED WITH RADIO, ANTI-THEFT LOCK AND PARKING STAND

Cyclists of the future will be able to free-wheel up-hill on the British-designed bicycle now on view at the "Britain Can Make It" Exhibition.

This machine, which was specially built for display at the exhibition, enables the cyclist to tune in to a miniature radio while he pedals, signal his approach by pressing an electric bell button, break with a twist of the handle-bars and operate the built-in lights in the mudguard by pulling a switch.

A Yale type anti-theft lock and a concealed parking stand are part of the fittings, but the most remarkable feature is the unique combinati... of pedal employs shaft propulsion instead of chain drive and a battery concealed in the framework gives power to the cyclist going up-hill—he can free-wheel a thousand yards up a one-in-ten gradient.

The bicycle is 15 per cent lighter and will be appreciably cheaper than present-day machines.

Known for Purity and High Standard since 1837.

ROGERS
SODA

By appointment to H E, Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay.
As Supplied to Their Majesties when in India.

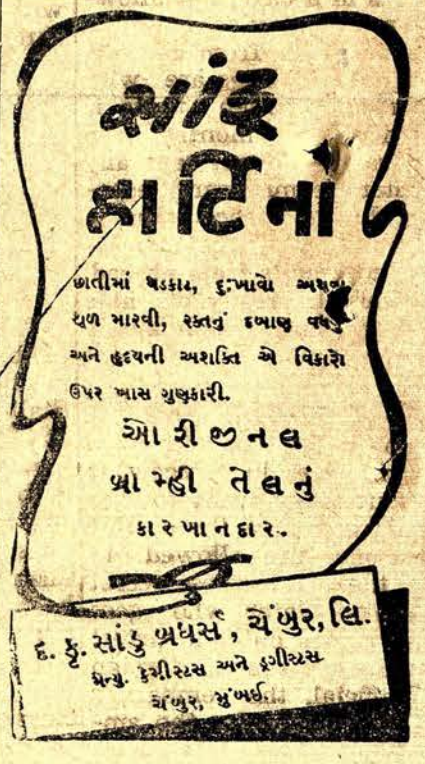
ROGERS & CO.:—
Makers of the famous Rogers' Soda, Lemonades, Ginger Beer, Gingerale, Tonic, Ice Cream Soda, Lime Juice & Soda, Orange Juice, Orange Champagne, Lithia Water, Victory Wine, Raspberry, Pick-Me-Up, etc.

ROGERS' SOLE MONOPOLY
THE FAMOUS
VIMTO
already on the market
in "VIMTO'S" Special RING bottles only

NEVER NEGLECT A COLD

Colds are dangerous. At the first warning sneeze drop Mistol into each nostril. Mistol spreads in a soothing film over the inflamed membranes, causing the congestion to disappear and opening the clogged nasal passages. Soon you breathe easily again.

Mistol is recommended by doctors throughout the world. On sale at all chemists and bazaars.



મેનેજરની શાખાઓ:—ઠક્કોરદ્વાર, કાલબાદેવી, પરેલ અને દાદર.

Issue Rc.
Please fair for signature at once and send to Ex Bernal
Thu 29/11

(29)
29/N 121-

E.A. DEPARTMENT/OFFICE

D.O. Letter
Draft ~~XXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXX~~

File No.

Serial No.

No. D.2578-x/46 Dated 30.xi.46.

1. Date of despatch

2. List of enclosures
Pl. fill in his full designation etc.

pp.1-5/n.

H 48-55 n/

Fwdtr.

To

The Hon'ble Mr.K.P.S. Menon, C.I.E.

Govt. of India Attitude to be taken in the 2nd part of the first Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations & the Commonwealth Relations Conference in London

I enclose a note written by Watson of the British Embassy in Moscow giving points for prior discussion with the Soviet Govt. before we open an Embassy in Moscow, and a note giving our comments on the various points which you will have to consider. These notes will give you sufficient information to form a basis for your discussions and we shall be glad if you will follow up all the points mentioned in them.

2. I wish you success in your mission and shall look forward to seeing you in Delhi immediately on your return. Your credentials in the form of a letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to M. Molotov are enclosed.

Yours

Secretary.

S. 5 (Large).
MFP—152 S&P—6767—(M-571)—19-6-44—40,000 Pads.

(2:7 - 122 -

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E.A. **DEPARTMENT/OFFICE.**

Draft Letter / Memorandum / Telegram

File No.

Serial No. DFA II

1. Date of despatch

No. D. 2578-x/46. Dated 30 - xi. 46

2. List of enclosures

Pl-fill in his full designation etc.

To

~~H.Molotov~~
His Excellency
Monsieur V. M. Molotov
Minister for Foreign Affairs, U.S.S.R.
Moscow

Dear Monsieur Molotov,

Thank you for your friendly letter of the 2nd October and for your courteous reception of Mr.V.Krishna Menon. The Govt.of India are gratified to learn that the Govt.of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics share their view of the advantage of an exchange of diplomatic representatives. The Govt.of India feel that it is of importance to both our countries that these relations should be established at the earliest possible date, and have for this reason appointed as their special representative the Hon'ble Mr.K.P.S.Menon, hitherto Agent-General for India in China and recently an alternate delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, to continue in Moscow the conversations begun by Mr.Krishna Menon and to discuss with the Govt.of the U.S.S.R the arrangements preliminary to the opening of Embassies in each country. The Govt.of India will be most grateful if every facility can be given to Mr.Menon to pursue these discussions and hope that as a result the negotiations may be satisfactorily concluded at an early date.

cor./page 40

Sincerely yours,

H.M.

S. 5 (Large).
MFP—152 S&P—6767—(M-571)—19-6-44—40,000 Pads.

I. Note by Mr. Watson.

Opening of an Indian Embassy in Moscow.

Points for prior discussion with Soviet Government.

Accommodation. This is perhaps the most serious difficulty for all foreign Missions; some important Powers like Brazil still have no Embassy permises at all and have to work in hotels, and the others find their work hampered and a great deal of unrest caused and time and energy wasted by inadequate office and housing space. The Soviet Government should therefore be asked to agree (on a reciprocal basis) to the provision of adequate accommodation from the beginning. This should be defined in detail and not left vague (detailed provision pays with the Soviet Government). Apart from an Embassy building in its own grounds, containing the Ambassador's residence and office space at the rate of say one room for every two diplomatic officers and one room for every four clerical staff (measurement by sq. meters can be most deceptive), living accommodation should be assigned at the minimum rate of two rooms for each diplomatic officer and wife, and one room for each member of the clerical staff, or whatever figures are desired. Even the Americans, who attach great importance to good living conditions, were forced at one stage to make two clerical staff share one hotel bed room, which led to much discontent. Garage accommodation etc. will of course also be needed.

Import of supplies. The Soviet Government should be asked to agree to the import of food and clothing supplies etc. without restriction for members of the staff, whose every need may not be obtainable in Moscow. Recently many Missions have experienced serious administrative difficulties in importing some commodities such as foodstuffs, for which an import licence is necessary even when consigned to Ambassadors.

Petrol.....

Petrol. If accommodation is at all scattered it will be found that the petrol allowance - which I believe is now at 150 litres a month - is not enough. Public transport is more or less unusable, and it is difficult to walk any distance in snowstorms etc. The air port (for couriers etc) is some 45 minutes by car. Many Missions make arrangements to fetch staff to and from work by car. Wood etc must be fetched by lorry. So an agreement should be reached about the mutual right to import extra petrol.

Furniture. It will be wise to bring in as much furniture, crockery etc. as possible, and not to rely on Soviet sources of supply. Many Missions have found Sweden the most suitable place to buy furniture. A lorry and a "station Wagon" are essential cars apart from the Ambassador's car and other officers cars. If it is decided to import furniture and cars, which is strongly recommended, this should be mentioned to the Soviet Government.

Couriers & Bags. At present the British and American Governments run regular air courier services, which go out westwards to Berlin and London. The British services runs twice a week in each direction, and takes, besides British mail, bags for Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Syria Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, Abyssinia, and occasionally countries like Italy and Uraguay. There is no charge. Most countries contribute some petrol. By arrangement some private letters for members of the staff and possibly a few parcels could be carried.

The Soviet Government will certainly want to run their own courier service, with two couriers each time. Friction is avoided if weights which are to have priority by air are agreed. The Soviet couriers are likely to wish to travel via Tehran, Baghdad and Karach as the Hindu Kush may not always be crossable .....

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by air, and as they have couriers to Baghdad already. If the Indian Government wished to run their own couriers, this would also be the best route. The names of couriers must be registered in advance with the Soviet Government, and the practice of making members of the staff etc couriers is frowned upon.

Telegrams. The Soviet telegram service is cheap, accurate and comparatively fast. Only very few Missions maintain their own wireless transmitters, by reciprocal arrangement, unless the volume of telegraphic traffic is heavy, this is an unnecessary expense and strain on accommodation; but it is possible to arrange.

Security. The Indian Embassy will presumably wish to take fairly thorough security precautions, though not to the same degree as Soviet Embassies abroad practise. These should include uninterrupted watch over confidential documents, by Indians. If security is not good, other foreign Missions will hesitate to talk freely to members of the Indian Embassy. The Soviet Government will not object to night guards etc.

Consuls. There is not likely to be much, if any, Indian Consular work in the Soviet Union; but some one with Consular experience should be on the staff of the Moscow Embassy. The Soviet Union have so far been most unwilling to allow foreign Consular representation outside Moscow to any country not in the Soviet Orbit, Exceotions being the U.S. Consul at Vladivostok, certain Chinese consulates along the frontier, etc, in return for reciprocal facilities. If the Indian Government want Consulates, there is of course no harm in asking.

Other Legations. So far no power not in the Soviet Orbit has succeeded in establishing Missions at Kiev or Minsk (the capitals of the two Constitutent Republics recognised for international organisation purposes), much less any other centre. A post at Tashkent, the centre ~~recognised for international organisation purposes~~ of .....

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of Soviet Central Asia and capital of Uzbekistan the third Republic of the Union, would certainly be interesting. This would of course involve recognition of Uzbekistan.

Newspapers and Periodicals. It is sometimes hard to get certain periodicals. The press is inordinately important in studying the Soviet Union for being official or "party" in every detail, what is said and omitted is of considerable significance. Some agreement about obtaining periodicals, and the provincial press, should therefore be reached. (See note on press below).

Trade Missions. As all foreign trade is a State monopoly, a Commercial Counsellor or Secretary can handle this side of the work. The Soviet Government are unlikely to agree to the appointment of trade missions, certainly outside Moscow.

Other Points ofr consideration.

Language. At least one member of the staff with fluent working knowledge of Russian is important. He will have to handle the most confidential work. When an Ambassador visits senior officials, it is customary to take an interpreter who translates what he says into Russian. The Soviet interpreter will translate what his own chief says into English.

Notes and letters may be written to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs etc. in English or French - or by arrangement in other languages. The Soviet replies will be in Russian. English is the first foreign language with M.F.A. officials. It is not usual for foreign Missions to have direct correspondence with other Ministries. Correspondence with other organisations connected with supplies of fuel, etc, is best carried on in Russian. A Russian translator-typist (non-confidential) can be hired, and will be found by the Soviet Government. Theatre tickets, which are assigned according to rank, have to be ordered by letter in Russian each time, etc.

Social .....

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Social contacts with Russians other than certain authorised people are extremely limited in practice, and Russian is not necessary for all members of the staff.

Soviet Employees. Domestic servants are easy to obtain. Chauffeurs are harder, but it is as well to have Russian drivers. Teachers of Russian can be found. Soviet switch board operators for the telephone are essential.

Joint Press Reading Service. The five Anglo-Saxon Missions in Moscow(U.K., U.S., Canadian, Australian, New Zealand) have joined to form a press translating service which translates or summarizes every important article in the daily morning press by lunch time (average 30 pp of close type) and also translates or summarizes most important articles in various periodicals. Owing to the exceptional importance of the press for understanding the Soviet Union, this service is in much demand by foreign Missions. It costs the five Missions over £.10,000 a year in salaries, paper, etc; other Missions can by arrangement obtain one copy for £.150/- a year and a contribution of petrol.

"Mehta"
29.11.46.

II. Note by External Affairs Department.

1. We consider that when the Embassy is fully developed, it will probably have to have something approximating to the following staff:

(1) Diplomatic staff.

(1) Ambassador.
(2) Counsellor (Head of Chancery).
(3) Service Attache.
(4) Commercial Counsellor(Financial Adviser).
(5) First Secretary.
(6) First Secretary(Commercial)
(7) Assistant Service Attache.
(8) Principal Information Officer.
(9) Second Secretary.
(10) Assistant Information Officer.
(11),Attache.
(12) Attache.

(2) Administrative and clerical staff.

(1) Administrative Officer.
(2) Interpreter.
(3) Translator.
(4) Superintendent (Political).
(5) Superintendent (Commercial).
(6) Superintendent (Information).
(7) Two Accountants.
(8) Two Cypher Assistants.
(9) About 12 clerks (including Stenographers).
(10) About 4 Guards.
(11) Locally recruited staff for telephone, domestic service and chauffeurs, etc.

At the beginning, however, we can probably start with a considerably smaller staff. We should be glad of your recommendations, after you have observed conditions locally and the strength of other Missions in Moscow, what should be

(a) the initial staff,
(b) the strength of the Embassy when fully developed.

2. We suggest that it would be advisable to get more accommodation than at first would be required in view of the expansion of staff that will be likely to take place. We suggest therefore that you should try and arrange for office accommodation which will take the fully developed Embassy, and that you should ensure that residential accommodation can be made available for all officers and staff likely to be required in Moscow after that development, on the assumption that the majority will take their families with them.

3.....

3. We should be glad of your recommendations regarding the total emoluments and concessions which should be given to each grade. If you can give us a total figure of emolum ents ~~and concessions which should be given to each grade. If you~~ it can be divided later into pay and allowances in accordance with the decision reached here regarding the basic pay of new Diplomatic Service.

4. We should be glad if you would obtain for us the right to have our own air couriers proceeding by way of Baksar and Tehran. It is desirable to have this right recognised from the beginning, although we think that it may be best for technical reasons to start by using the British air courier service, forwarding diplomatic bags through the High Commissioner in London.

5. One member of the superior staff can be designated as Security Officer.

6. We should like you to explore the possibility of getting agreement for the opening of an India Consulate at Tashkent. We shall be glad also if you will make enquiries regarding the liberty of movement of the Ambassador and his staff.

7. We probably shall not require a Trade Mission in addition to the Commercial staff on the Embassy; but we should be glad to know whether the Soviet Government would agree to the establishment of an Indian Trade Mission, in view of the existence of a Soviet Trade Mission in India.

8. We should undoubtedly join the Joint Press Reading Service.

9. We have no ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ particular comments to make on Watson's remarks under the heading "Import of supplies, petrol, furniture, telegrams and newspapers and periodicals". We shall be glad if you will follow up on the lines indicated in Watson's note.

10. ~~We shall be glad to know precisely what requests the~~ xxxxxxxxxx

10. We shall be glad to know precisely what requests the Soviet Government wish to make for comparable facilities in India.

11. Your estimate of the initial and recurring cost of the Indian Embassy will be useful.

12. We may contemplate at a later stage that our Ambassador at Moscow should also be responsible for our relations with Poland pending the establishment of a separate Embassy in Warsaw. If we decide this, we shall probably want an Indian Consul at Warsaw. We think it preferable not to raise this with the Soviet Government at present nor do we wish any overtures to be made to the Polish Government; but we should be glad of your opinion whether this arrangement would be feasible and desirable or whether there would be many difficulties in the way of it.

13. We should be glad to have precise information of the steps which must be taken to effect the exchange of Ambassadors; and in particular :

(a) The method by which the initial agreement on the points which you negotiate, should be recorded.

(b) The formal procedure for notifying the agreement of each Government to the Ambassador appointed by the other. You should explain that so long as the constitutional position remains, the Indian ambassador will be officially styled 'His Majesty's Ambassador for India. This will presumably not be objected to, in view of the existence of several Commonwealth Diplomatic Missions in Moscow.

"Mehta"
28.11.46.

(30-5/31- D.3084-x/46

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The Government of India have appointed the Hon'ble Mr. K.P.S. Menon, Agent-General for India in China, as their Special Representative to visit Moscow and discuss with the Government of the U.S.S.R. arrangements preliminary to the exchange of diplomatic representatives between the U.S.S.R. and India.

Mr. K.P.S. Menon will travel to Moscow after the conclusion of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Government of India have also appointed Mr. V. Krishna Menon as their Special Representative to visit a number of European countries in order to hold informal exploratory conversations with the Governments of those countries with a view to the establishment of diplomatic relations between them and India at an early date.

These appointments have been made with a view to the early execution by the Government of their policy of extending their diplomatic contacts throughout the world.

External Affairs Department.
New Delhi, November 30, 1946.

BNV/SRV

"280 -- 30.11.46."

(31) 1132- D 3199-x/46

(57)

RECEIPT

9/x4/46

TELEGRAM O.T.P. SECRET 12767
From--- S/S for India, London.
To-----G/G (E.A. DEPTT) New Delhi.
No. 21378
Dated 7th recd 8th Dec: 1946 TOO 2015 TOR 1100

S. No. (25)

Your telegram No. 10081 November 28th para 1. K.P.S. Menon's appointment as Special Representative to visit Moscow.

H.M. Ambassador in Moscow has been requested to give K.P.S. Menon such assistance as he may require.

.....

HM: X BR(3) E.A. DEPTT(ALL OFFICERS) P.S.V.
CABINET SECRETARY: C.R. & FINANCE DEPTTS.

FSD
8/12/46

RECEIPT

(32) -133- D3253-X/46

(58)

TELEGRAM O.T.P. SECRET
12814

From.....Consul General, New York,
To.....Foreign, New Delhi.
No. GA-58
Dated 8th (received 9th) December 1946. T.O.O. 1807
T.O.R. 1440

Following from K.P.S. Menon.

Your telegram No. 10078 of November 28th. Mrs. Pandit has in her telegram No. GA-57 dated December 6th given an account of her interview with MOLOTOV.

2. It seems clear that Soviet Government have no (repeat no) preliminary matter to negotiate before exchange of Missions. Have the Government of India any*? If not I suggest we proceed to usual exchange of Notes. This could be done after a preliminary conversation* between any of our accredited Representatives in London Washington or Nanking and Russian Ambassador there. I myself could do it at Nanking with Russian Ambassador with whom I am on cordial terms. Even if Government of India had any special point to negotiate before opening Mission this could be done through above channel.

3. Canada recently opened an Embassy in Moscow and WILGRESS the Canadian Ambassador in Moscow is here under the command of Delegates to Assembly. He told me all that Canada did before opening their Embassy in Moscow was to exchange* Notes between Canadian High Commissioner and Soviet Ambassador in London.

4. I also consulted WILGRESS regarding administrative arrangements. I gathered from him that main difficulty would be to find accommodation. This would take months. Housing situation in Moscow was desperate and our Ambassador like many others who had preceded him* would have to stay in a hotel for a fairly prolonged period. WILGRESS suggests best course would be for Secretary to Ambassador when appointed to proceed to Moscow a few weeks before Ambassador himself and to fix up such residential and office accommodation as was available.

.....5.

5. I shall also discuss with WILGRESS matter relating to staff of Embassy.

+by 2 chs:

6. In view of MOLOTOV'S attitude and+ Canadian precedent it seems unnecessary and may indeed be embarrassing for Government of India to send a special Representative to Moscow.

.....

HM: X. BR(3) E.A. DEPTT:(ALL OFFICERS) PSV CABINET SECY: C.R. DEPTT: & FINANCE DEPTT:

D.Z.B.(39)
recd.10.12.46.

Ins.S 10/12

-135-

RECEIPT

(60)

D.3255-X/46

(33)

SECRET

12817

TELEGRAM O.T.P.

From:----Consul General, New York.
To :----Foreign, New Delhi.
No :----GA-57
Dated----8th(received 9th)December 1946 T.O.O. 1807
T.O.R. 1540

.....

Following from Mrs. Pandit to Jawahar Lal Nehru.

SNO (27)

Your telegram No. 10070 of November 27th. Mission to Moscow.

2. I spoke to MOLOTOV about this on December 5th. He asked in which countries India had diplomatic Representatives at present. He said he would if necessary telegraph to his Government about our proposal. He did not (repeat not)think there were any* special matters to be negotiated in Moscow before opening of Mission. He hoped that Russia and India would exchange diplomatic Representatives soon after this conversation he entertained our Delegation to a superb lunch at which he was cordiality itself.

3. Evidently MOLOTOV does not (repeat not) think there is any need for a preliminary Mission to Moscow for purpose of exchanging diplomatic Representatives. Krishna Menon's talks with MOLOTOV in London covered a wider field and it is possible* he may have liked to continue them in Moscow but this is unnecessary and clearly undesirable in view of proposed appointment of our accredited Representative in* Moscow.

4. K.P.S. Menon will telegraph to you our views on procedural and administrative aspects.

.....

K.A.
Typd 10/12/46
Recd 10/12/46

HM: X Br(3) E.A.D.(All Officers) PSV: CABINET SECY: C.R.DEPT: FINANCE DEPT:

X. Br. (3)

(34) -136-

61

DESPATCH

SECRET
10466

Telegram O.T.P. No. 10466 dated 11th December, 1946.
From.....Foreign, New Delhi.
To.....Consul-General, New York.

S.240.(33)
S.240.(32)

Following for K.P.S. Menon.

Mrs. Pandit's telegram GA-57 and your telegram GA-58 dated 8th. December. In view of Molotov's attitude it is agreed that it is no longer necessary for you to proceed to Moscow.

2. Please obtain all information you can from Wilgress including any information available about form of notes exchanged between Canadian High Commissioner and Soviet Ambassador in London.

.....

HM: X Br.(3): U.K. Dept (All Officers): PSV: Cabinet Secy: C.R. Dept: Finance Dept.

LH (35) 12th Dec.
Recd 12th Dec.
Typed 12th Dec.

Mr.S 27/12

(35) -137-

SECRET 10880

Telegram O.T.P. No. 10880 dated 27th December 1946

From.....Foreign, New Delhi
To.....Indembassy, Washington

.....

Following from Menon for Bajpai. Begins.

With reference to our conversation kindly telegraph (a) form of notes to be exchanged regarding establishment of diplomatic Missions and (b) result of your conversations with Maartenz Brazilian Ambassador Ends.

.....

H.M : X. BRANCH (30): E.A. DEPTT(ALL OFFICERS) HON'BLE K.P.S. MENON: PSV : CABINET SECY

EH

recd. 27/12/46

(36) -138- D. 3577-x/46

CYPHER TELEGRAM (O.T.P) SECRET
13485

From - Bajpai, Washington.
To - Govgenext, New Delhi.
No. 130
Dated 23rd (recd. 24th) December 1946. TOO - 1159.
TOR - 2000.

IMPORTANT.

* By ch.

Since Menon was unable to contact WILGRESS again ~~xxxxxxx~~ he asked me to obtain from Canadian Ambassador in Washington information regarding agreements between Canada and Soviet for exchange of Diplomatic Representatives. Two agreements were signed between these countries one on February 3rd 1942 for exchange of Consular Officers and other on June 12th of same year for exchange of Ministers (now Ambassadors).

2. Texts, which follow by air mail, simply record agreement, in one case to exchange Consular Representatives and the other to establish diplomatic* relations and exchange Ministers*, and specify that each agreement comes into force immediately after signature and is not~~x~~ subject to ratification.

3. Negotiations leading up to these agreements took place in London and originated in enquiry by Soviet Ambassador on behalf of his Govt. in October* 1941 whether Canadian Govt. would be prepared to receive one or two Soviet Consular Officers. Canadian High Commissioner answered enquiry in affirmative. Later, again on the initiative of ~~Sxxxx~~ Soviet Govt., question of closer diplomatic relations was brought up by Soviet Embassy in Washington in informal manner. This proved acceptable~~x~~ to Canadian Govt. and resulted in agreement of June 1942.

4. Canadian Ambassador has suggested that if Soviet Govt. wish to establish consulates in India outside New Delhi it might be desirable for India to secure in advance some guarantee of reciprocity. Otherwise Govt. of India might find themselves restricted to representation in Moscow alone while Soviet would be entitled to claim consular representation outside the capital of India.

SRK/29

H.M., X.Br.(3), E.A.D. all officers, P.S.V. and Cabinet Secy.

(-3)(37) -139- 3611 x/46

RECEIPT

SECRET
13602

TELEGRAM O.T.P.

From.....Bajpai,Washington
To .....Foreign,New Delhi
No.145
Dated 28th(recd 29th)December 1946 T.O.O. 1030
T.O.R. 1135

.....

I M M E D I A T E

Following for Menon.

Your telegram No.10880 dated December 27th. S No (35) S No (36)

(I) Russia.Please see my telegram No.130 of December 23rd.For immediate reference@ I am telegraphing separately the text of Agreement of June@ 1942 for exchange of Diplomatic Missions between Canada and the Soviet.

(2) Brazil.@MAARTENZ? MARTINS has not yet heard from his Govt: but expects to do so before the end of the year.I shall keep in touch with him and shall telegraph views of his Govt:as soon as he communicates them to me.

.....

HM:X BR(3)EA DT(ALL OFFICERS)HONB'LE MR.KPS MENON:
PSV:& CABINET SECY

B.R.
Recd 29/12/46

(38) -140-

36 12 x/46

65

RECEIPT

TELEGRAM O.T.P. SECRET
13613

From.....Bajpai, Washington,
To.....GOVGENEXT, New Delhi.
No. 146
Dated 28th (received 29th) December 1946. T.O.O. 1848
T.O.R. 1530

IMMEDIATE

S.No (37)

Following for Menon.

My immediately preceding telegram No. 145 dated December 28th. Following is text of Agreement. Begins:

The Government of Canada and Government of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have reached an agreement as follows.

(1) The two Governments have agreed to establish direct diplomatic relations and to exchange Ministers.

(2) The present Agreement comes into force immediately after its signature and is not subject to ratification.

(3) The present Agreement is made in two copies, each of them in the Russian and English languages, both texts have equal force. Ends:

HM X. BR(3) E.A. DEPTT:(ALL OFFICERS) HON'BLE MR K.P.S. MENON, PSV & CABINET SECRETARY

D.Z.B.(35)
recd.30.12.46.

(39)

DESPATCH.

-141-

SECRET
95

66

TELEGRAM O.T.P.No.95 dated 6th January 1947

From.....Foreign,New Delhi
To .....Bajpai,Indembassy,Washington

.....

Your telegram 130 dated 23rd December.We are most grateful to you for the information contained in your telegram. We do not want to proceed for the next few weeks,as we should prefer to have our plans ready here before making a final approach.Since you are leaving Washington shortly and we do not wish to burden Asaf Ali with extraneous questions at the beginning of his time there,we are proposing to make the approach through Menon in Nanking.

.....

HM:X BR(3)EA DT(ALL OFFICERS)PSV:CABINET SECY:CR: & FINANCE DEPTTS

B.R.
Recd 6/1/47

(40) -142- D3595-x/46

67

INDIA DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Gotham Hotel
Fifth Ave. at 55th Street
New York 19, N. Y.

10th December, 1946.

The Secretary to the
Government of India,
External Affairs Dept.,
New Delhi, India.

Subject: Exchange of diplomatic missions in the U.S.S.R.

Sir,

With reference to paragraph 5 of my telegram No. GA-58, dated the 6th December, 1946, I have the honour to enclose a note on my talk with Mr. Wilgress, Canadian Ambassador in Moscow, regarding housing, staff and allowances of diplomatic personnel in Moscow.

I have the Honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant

K. P. S. Menon.

Enc: (1)

68

Note on a talk with Mr. Wilgress, Canadian Ambassador in Moscow, regarding administrative arrangements for the Embassy in Moscow

Accommodation.

The housing situation in Moscow is desperate. Over forty countries are now represented in Moscow; and all the recent arrivals are staying in hotels. The Indian representative will have to do likewise. A number of administrative bureaux will have to be moved for obtaining a residence; and this will take months. The accommodation in the hotel, in which Diplomats are generally housed, is fairly comfortable; but the food is bad. Most persons have ~~a good~~ one meal a day in the hotel. They take rations for the other meals and either cook them themselves or have them elsewhere.

Staff

Mr. Wilgress said that it would be a mistake to take a large staff to ~~work~~ start with, especially as most of the office work will have to be done in one's bedroom. At the outset, the staff might consist of two secretaries, one Assistant and two steno-typists. An interpreter will have to be engaged on the spot. Mr. Wilgress said that it was important to take a sufficient number of typists. The staff can be added to later in the light of experience and when accommodation is available. A Commercial Attache and a Military Attache will probably be necessary in due course.

Allowances

A dollar is worth 5 roubles. This is the official rate, but bears no relation to the actual worth of the dollar which is in the neighborhood of 50 or 60 ~~dollars~~ roubles. There is a diplomatic rate of 12 roubles to the dollar. What the Canadian delegation does is to subsidize the officers by giving them 25 roubles to a dollar for their living expenses in Moscow. The situation in Russia is somewhat analogous to that in China, though the inflation is not so terrific. I suggest that we adopt some system, similar to that adopted by Canada. It could be left to the Ambassador to make detailed recommendations regarding allowances after inquiries on the spot, especially regarding the practice of other Embassies.

Travel to Moscow

Mr. Wilgress suggested that probably the best way for our representatives to go to Moscow would be via Stockholm. From that city they could proceed by air via Helsingfors or by boat and train via Helsingfors to Leningrad. Food would have to be taken for the journey by land. Travelling via Stockholm would have this advantage, that our representatives could make arrangements with the Nordiska Kompeniet for the supply of food and other necessaries which they would require to import from time to time while in Moscow.

"The text of this telegram must be paraphrased if communicated to persons outside H.M.G's the Government of India's or U.S.Government's services or if retransmitted in a cypher system other than One Time Pad".

Secret
1291.

Telegram Grade B No.1291 dated 17th February 1947.

From.. Governor General,(E.A. Department)New Delhi.
To.... Secretary of State for India, London.

S. No. (31)

Your telegram No.21378 of December 7th.

Government of India decided not to send K.P.S.Menon to Moscow but to instruct him to pursue the question of exchange of diplomatic representatives between India and the U.S.S.R. with the Soviet Ambassador in China after he has presented his credentials as Indian Ambassador to China late this month.

2. The Government of India would therefore be grateful if the approval of His Majesty could now be obtained for an exchange of Ambassadors between India and the U.S.S.R.

3. Would it be proper at the same time to seek His Majesty's general approval to the establishment (on a reciprocal basis) of Indian Embassies or Legations at any capital where one of H.M's Missions is already in existence.

.....

H.M., P.S.to H.M. P.T.Branch(3)E.A.Department(All Officers)
P.S.V., Cabinet Secretary.

P.E.W.(36) PNS
Recd: 17th February.

-146-
(42)

D.1663-Pt/47

TELEGRAM O.T.P. SECRET 2508

From..... Secretary of State for India, London.

To..... Governor General (External Affairs Deptt) New Delhi.

No.2482

Dated 23rd (and received 24th) February 1947. T.O.O. 1856
T.O.R. 1230

Your telegram No.1291 of February 17th

Exchange of Ambassadors with U.S.S.R. I am seeking His Majesty's approval as you request.

2. It is customary to seek King's approval separately for establishment of each new diplomatic Mission and I should prefer to follow practice adopted by all Commonwealth countries unless there are special reasons which could be explained to His Majesty for departing from it.

.....

HM: PS TO HM: PROT BR (3) EA DT (ALL OFFICERS)
PSV & CABINET SECY.

E.A.
24/2/47

MH 27/2

TELEGRAM O.T.P. 147 - D.1725 SECRET
2592

(43)

From.....Secretary of State for India, London.
To.....Governor General (E.A. Department), New Delhi.

No.....2618

Dated.....25th (recd 26th) February, 1947. T.O.O.
T.O.R. 1120

IMPORTANT

S.NO. (42)

My telegram No 2482 dated 23rd February. Exchange of Ambassadors with USSR. The King's approval has been signified.

.....

HM; PS to HM; Prot Br(3); E.A. Dept(All Officers): PSV: Cabinet Secy.

LH(37)
Typed 26th February.

26/2

E. A. DEPARTMENT/~~OFFICE~~
Pt. Br.

Draft ~~Telegram~~ Letter

File No.

Serial No.

1. Date of despatch

No. D.1517-Pt./47. Dated 27/2 February 47.

2. List of enclosures

To

The Hon'ble Mr. K.P.S. Menon, CIE.,
Ambassador-designate of India to China.

Sir,

As you are aware, Mr. Krishna Menon saw M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign ~~Commissar~~ Minister, in Paris on September 28th 1946 when he delivered a personal message from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and also raised the question of the establishment of direct diplomatic relations between India and the U. S.S.R. A copy of Pandit Nehru's letter to M. Molotov is enclosed for your information, together with a copy of the letter which M. Molotov sent in reply. Mrs. Pandit also saw M. Molotov in New York on December 5th, when the latter said that he hoped that Russia and India would soon exchange diplomatic representatives. The Govt. of India now desire that you should take an early opportunity of addressing your Soviet colleague formally with the suggestion that, in order to give early effect to the previous talks with M. Molotov in Paris and New York, the two Governments should make simultaneous public announcements in agreed terms of their intention to exchange Diplomatic Missions at Embassy level. Such announcements might read "Being desirous of maintaining and further strengthening the friendly relations existing between India and the U.S.S.R., the Govt. of India and the Govt. of the U.S.S.R. have decided

S. 5 (Large).
MFP—152 S&P—6767—(M-571)—19-6-44—40,000 Pads.

decided to exchange diplomatic missions at of Embassy level."

2. While in the opinion of the Govt. of India no formal agreement to exchange Diplomatic Missions is necessary it is possible that the Soviet Ambassador may on his part inform you that his Government require a formal agreement on the model of that which was signed between the U.S.S.R. and Canada (copy attached). In that event you are authorised to sign such an agreement on behalf of the Government of India.

x slip C (blue copies)

I have, etc.,

sd. H. Weightman

F.S.

(45) D.2356-PT/47 (7)

-150-

CONFIDENTIAL

4320

TELEGRAM GRADE 'C'

From:----Menon, Nanking.
To :----Foreign, New Delhi.
No :----79
Dated----2nd(recd 3rd)April 1947. T.O.C. 1730
T.O.R. 0030

.....

X S. No.(44) Reference your letter No. D 1517-PT/47 dated February 27th.

by ch 2. I called on M. PATROV the Soviet Ambassador this morning* Protocol forbade my doing so earlier as I had not presented my credentials.

3. I spoke* to M. PATROV and handed note to him regarding the proposal to establish direct diplomatic relations between India and U.S.S.R. He said he would try and obtain the agreement of his Government as soon as possible He hoped that terrific pressure of work connected with the Foreign Ministers Conference in Moscow would not(repeat not) entail any delay.

4. Monsieur PATROV had himself raised this question informally at a reception given me by the SINO - Indian Society on March 31st.

.....

K.A.
Typd 4/4/47
Recd 4/4/47

HM: PS to HM: PT Br(3) E.A.D.(ALL OFFICERS)PSV(2)CABINET-Secy; & Copy to EUR. Br.

-151-

(46)

D.2421-PT/47

TELEGRAM O.T.P. SECRET

4495

From.....Menon, Nanking.

To.....Foreign, New Delhi.

No. 83 T.O.O. 1212
Dated (& recd.) 8th April 1947 T.O.R. 1730

IMPORTANT

My telegram No. 79 dated April 2nd.

2. Soviet Ambassador M. PETROV paid a return call to me on April 4th.* He again called on me on 7th afternoon and handed to me a written reply confirming that the Soviet Government have agreed to proposal for exchanging diplomatic Missions between India and U.S.S.R. at Embassy level. They have also agreed to official announcements being made in terms of paragraph No. 1 of Weightman's demi-official letter to me No. D.1517 PT/47 dated February 27th.* Soviet Government have proposed the 13th repeat April 13th for making simultaneous announcements in Moscow and New Delhi. I have told Soviet Ambassador that this date will be suitable to Government of India.

*By ch

.....

HM: PS to HM: PT Branch:(3) E.A. Department:(All Officers)
PSV:(2) Cabinet Secretary: and copy to Eur Branch:

PJN
8/4/47

(47) -182-

Secret
57.

(77

Telegram O.T.P. No.57 dated 9th April 1947.

From.. Foreign, New Delhi.
To.... Menon, Nanking.

Immediate

× S.No.(46)

Your telegram No.83 April 8th.

2. Government of India will announce agreement to exchange diplomatic Missions with U.S.S.R. at 20.00 hours I.S.T. on Sunday April 13th. To be simultaneous, announcement would have to be made at Moscow at 17.30 hours, Moscow time same date. Please inform Soviet Ambassador that Government of India suggest that news is not released in Moscow or Delhi on 13th April before times stated.

.....

H.M., PS to H.M. PT Branch(3)E.A. Department(All Officers) P.S.V.(2)Cabinet Secretary., and O.S.D.(Sir G.S.Bajpai)., and copy to European Br.

P.E.V.(38)
Recd: April 9th.

(48) -153-

SECRET
2789

TELEGRAM O.T.P.No.2789 dated 10th April 1947

From.....Governor General(E.A.Deptt)New Delhi
To .....Secretary of State for India,London

.....

I M M E D I A T E

Your telegram 2618 of February 25th Soviet Ambassador has signified his Government's at Nanking/agreement to the exchange of diplomatic missions with India at Embassy level.Simultaneous announcement will be made in terms similar to those used in the French case (c.f.my telegram No.1236 dated 14.2.47)in Delhi and Moscow on April 13th (repeat 13th)at 20.00 hrs I.S.T. and 17.30 hrs.Moscow time.

... .

HM:PS TO HM:FS:JS(C):DS(C):AS(PT)6 only PSV(2)CABINET SECY

B.R.
Recd 10/4/47

(49) -154- D-2462-PMT47

79

TELEGRAM OTP SECRET
4550

From....Menon, Nanking.
To.....Foreign, New Delhi
No.86
Dated 9th (received 10th) April 1947 T.O.O.1705
T.O.R.0730

SNS (46)

Reference my telegram No.83 dated April 8th. Exchange of Diplomatic Missions between India and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

* by ch

2. It may be observed that the Soviet Government replied to our official approach in 5 days. We, on the other hand, took 5 months to make this approach after MOLOTOV had intimated to Honourable Member, Soviet Government's willingness to exchange Diplomatic Missions. Delay on our part was of course not (repeat not) intentional but seems glaring as compared with Soviet Government's promptness in responding attitude to our initial and our official approaches. I therefore venture to suggest that no further time should be lost in setting up our Embassy in Moscow. I suppose first step will be to appoint a First Secretary as Charge d'Affaires to deal with preliminary questions such as accommodation transport courier service etc.

H.M. PS TO H.M. PT BR (3) EAD(ALL OFFICERS) PSV(2)
CABINET SECY OSD (SIR GS BAJPAI) & COPY TO EUR BR.

F.H.

(50) -155- D1405-Eas/47

TELEGRAM O.T.P. SECRET. 4764

From.....Ambassador, Nanking
To.....Foreign, New Delhi
No. 92 T.O.O. 1320
Dated (& recd)15th April 1947. T.O.R. 2030

.....3 No(49)

My telegram No. 86 April 9th.

2. Russian Ambassador asked us all to dinner last night to celebrate the official decision to exchange Diplomatic Missions between India and Russia. It was at once a ceremonious and CONVIVIAL affair.

3. PETROV asked me casually who was likely to be Indian Ambassador in Moscow. I said I did not know. But I told him that perhaps the Government of India might first send a First Secretary to act as Charge d'Affaires* and to make preliminary arrangements such as the Ambassador's accommodation etc. PETROV said that to do so would be a mistake. When two great countries like Russia and India establish Diplomatic Missions in each other's country they should actually (repeat actually)+ start at highest level. Russia herself would probably send an Ambassador. PETROV did not know of any case in which a Diplomatic Mission started in Moscow with a Charge d'Affaires* instead of an Ambassador or Minister. The question? position of accommodation was not so difficult. The Ambassador may have to stay in a hotel to start with but there was a good hotel for DIPLOMATS and in any case it should be possible to find a house in three months or possibly less. PETROV said these were his personal views. Doubtless they also represent the sentiment of his Government.

4. I must confess PETROV has converted me to his point of view. Whatever may be the practical convenience of sending a First Secretary to start the Mission I think it would be more appropriate and dramatic if first Indian representative to land in Moscow would be the Ambassador himself.

.....

H.M : PSTO H.M : PT BRANCH (3): FS: JS(F): JS(X): JS(C): DS(C): US(PROT): PSV(2): CABINET SECY : OSD(SIR G.S. BAJPAI): & COPY TO EUR BRANCH (2)

EH
15/4/47

(57) D. 468 - EUR/47 62

-157-

TELEGRAM G.T.C. 4967

From..... Secretary of State for India, London

To..... Governor General (E.A. Deptt) New Delhi.

No.5048

Dated 19th (received 20th) April 1947. T.O.O. 1324
T.O.R. 0055

S.No. (48)

Your telegram 10th April No.2789. Following

* by ch. from Moscow to Foreign Office dated April 16th* Begins. Soviet India Relations. PRAVDA (only paper published today) carries following official Statement said to have been agreed between Soviet and Indian Ambassadors in China early in April.

"Seeking to preserve and further strengthen friendly relations which exist between U.S.S.R. and India the Governments of U.S.S.R. and India have decided to exchange Diplomatic Representatives with ranks of Ambassadors."

Foreign Office pass to New Delhi and United Kingdom High Commissioner New Delhi as my telegram No.17 and unnumbered. Ends.

.....

HM: PS TO HM: FS: JS(X) JS(C) JS(F) DS(C) US(R&I)(EUR) AS(PT) (6)
PSV(2) CABINET SECY & U.K. H.C(2)

E.A.
21/4/47

(52)

83

-158-

SECRET 3932

TELEGRAM SIMPLEX No.3932 dated 22nd May 1947.

From..... Governor General (External Affairs Deptt.) New Delhi

To..... Secretary of State for India, London

I M P O R T A N T

S.L.O.(51)

Correspondence ending with your telegram No.5048 dated 19th April. Grateful if you would obtain approval of His Majesty to appointment as His Majesty's Ambassador for India in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the Hon'ble Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, at present Minister for Local Self Government and Health in the Government of the United Provinces. After His Majesty has accorded approval, we will approach the Soviet Government direct.

2. Viceroy would like Lord Mountbatten to see this telegram before His Majesty's approval is sought.

.....

PS TO HM: PSV(2) CABINET SECY "S"(2)

Telegram Simplex. (53) -159- Secret 84
6614

From.. Secretary of State for India, London.
To.... Governor General(E.A. Department)New Delhi.
No.6975.
Dated (& recd:) 30th May 1947. T.O.O. 1300
T.O.R. 2100

- S.M.(52)

Your telegram 3932 22nd May.

His Majesty's Ambassador for India in the U.S.S.R.

2. The King has approved.

.....

PS to HM., FS., JS(X)., P.S.V.(2) Cabinet Secretary and 'S'(2)

P.E.W.(9)
Recd:May 31st.

(54) -160- 85

Secret
4260

Telegram O.T.P. No.4260 dated 2nd June 1947.

From.. Foreign, New Delhi.
To.... Indembassy, Nanking.

Following for Menon.

S. No. (20)

Correspondence ending with your telegram 92 dated 15th April. The Government of India, with His Majesty's approval, have appointed the Hon'ble Mrs.Vijayalakshmi Pandit as His Majesty's Ambassador for India in Moscow. We should be grateful if you would request Soviet Ambassador in Nanking to obtain agrement of President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and telegraph his reply.

.....

PS to HM., FS., JS(X)., PSV(2)., Cabinet Secretary and 'S'(2).

P.E.W.(10)
Recd:June 3rd.

JS(+)

(55). -161-

SECRET
7420

Telegram O.T.P.
From ..... Indembassy, Nanking
To ..... Foreign, New Delhi
No. 181
Dated (and recd) 19th June 1947

T.O.O. 1415
T.O.R. 2035

I M P O R T A N T

* by ch Your telegram No. 4260* dated June 2nd.

2. The Soviet Ambassador called on me last evening and conveyed his Government's agreement to the appointment of Honourable Mrs. Pandi as Indian Ambassador at Moscow. He added that his Government would be very happy to welcome Mrs. Pandit.

- - - - - - - -

C.P. 20/6 PS to HM "S" (2) Secy Gen. FS JSX PSV (2) Cabinet Secy

AS 23/6 P2813 Loc.Spin (56) E & A Dept

Mr. Hadow, 162-248 (Cur) (8

D/1464-Sec/47

R&NR 26-6

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve the appointment of the Hon'ble Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit as His Majesty's Ambassador for India in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

External Affairs &
Commonwealth Relations Department,
New Delhi, June 25, 1947.

KBT/MNA

"290 -- 25.6.47."

Immediate Please

(57) -163-

D.2691-Eus/47

TELEGRAM O.T.P. SECRET 13076
From ... Indembassy, Moscow.
To .... Foreign, New Delhi.
Repeated Indian Embassy Washington
for Mrs VIJAYLAXMI Pandit, Ambassador
to Russia.

No. 23 T.O.O. 2247
Dated 30th Sept. (recd 1st Oct. 1947) T.O.R. 1220

....

For Sir GIRJA Shankar Bajpai from PAI. At a personal interview today Malik, Deputy Foreign Minister, U.S.S.R., gave me following message to be conveyed to Government of India.

2. Soviet Government propose to appoint KIRIL VASILEVITCH NOVIKOV as their Ambassador in India and request Government of India's acceptance of the proposal.

3. Malik handed me following aide-memoire giving particulars regarding Novikov begins

"Novikov, Kiril, Vasilevitch, born 1905, has received higher education; graduated from Leningrad POLYTECHNIC Institute.

Worked as Deputy Director, Scientific Research Institute and as Director, Industrial Institute. Was head of Department, Ministry of Heavy Industries.

From 1940 has been in Diplomatic Service: Counsellor Soviet Embassy in England, head of section Ministry for Foreign Affairs, U.S.S.R., Secretary General of Soviet Delegations to International Conferences.

Member of Board, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, U.S.S.R.

Decorated with Order of U.S.S.R., Ends.

4. I have not met Novikov in Moscow but recollect having seen him at Paris Peace Conference where he had reputation of being rather tough and one of MOLOTOV's picked men. He is of dark complexion for a European (about which Malik made QUIP that he was specially suited to India). I believe he knows English as he was Counsellor to Soviet Embassy in London. He is now, I understand, on special duty in Austria.

5. I have no other information about Novikov but if Government of India so desire I can ask British Charge d'Affaires here for further particulars.

...

PS TO PM (2) PT BR. (2) EUR BR. (2) JS(X) JS(E)/JS(C)

DS(E)II DS(X) US(X) AS(P&T) CR WING (SECY & JT.SECY)

CABINET SECY.

BH(*)
2/10

(58) -164-

SECRET
8244

TELEGRAM O.T.P. No. 8244 dated 4th October 1947

From....Foreign, New Delhi
To ....Indembassy, Moscow

.....

I M P O R T A N T

S.No.(57)

Your telegram No. 23, September 30th. K.V. Novikov. We are seeking the formal approval of the King and shall communicate to you as soon as received.

.....

PS TO PM(2)PT BR(2)EUR BR(2)SG:JSX:JSE:JSC:DSEII:DSX:USX:AS(PT)CR WING(SECY & JT SECY)CABINET SECY

B.R.*
6/10/47

(59) D.2826 Eur/47 1165-

Forwarded to

The Secretary
Ministry of E.A & C.R.
India

~~Detail~~ This is for Territorial Branch (My 10.9.47)
13/10

With the compliments of the Private ~~Secretary~~
Secretary to His Excellency the ~~Viceroy~~ ~~to the~~ Governor-General (~~Personal~~). India

EUR ~~EMD~~

The AICB
15/X

No. 39-G.G.I.

New Delhi
~~*Simla*~~
~~*Viceroy's Camp*~~
, the 13th October 1947.

P. S. V. 20.
BH290PSV—5,000—20-5-46—GIBPS

-166- D-2824-Eur/47 (G)

CONFIDENTIAL
38-GG

Telegram Grade 'C' No. 38-GG dated 9th October 1947.
From.....Foreign, New Delhi.
To.....Private Secretary to H.M. the King.

Following from Governor-General, India, New Delhi. No. 39-G.G.I. Soviet Government have proposed the name of Kiril Vasilevitch Novikov as their Ambassador to India. Novikov has been Counsellor to Soviet Embassy in London, Secretary-General of Soviet Delegations to International Conferences, and Member of Board, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, U.S.S.R. My Government accept this nomination and would be grateful if you would ask His Majesty's approval to this appointment.

==========

PS TO GG(8)

D.Z.B.(10)
typed 10.10.47

Copy to: Ministry for External Affairs

(60) -167-

D. 2863—cut/47

Paper cutting from Hindustan Times dated 17th October 1947.

RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR TO INDIA

The Government of India has, it is reliably learned, approved the name of the Russian Ambassador in India proposed by the Soviet Government. His name is likely to be announced by the end of this month after some formalities are gone through.

The Ambassador-designate, it is understood, formerly held a diplomatic post in Europe.—Globe.

(61) -168-

CONFIDENTIAL
38-GG

Telegram Grade 'C' No. 38-GG dated 9th October 1947.
From.....Foreign, New Delhi.
To.....Private Secretary to H.M. the King.

Following from Governor-General, India, New Delhi. No. 39-G.G.I. Soviet Government have proposed the name of Kiril Vasilevitch Novikov as their Ambassador to India. Novikov has been Counsellor to Soviet Embassy in London, Secretary-General of Soviet Delegations to International Conferences, and Member of Board, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, U.S.S.R. My Government accept this nomination and would be grateful if you would ask His Majesty's approval to this appointment.

==========

PS TO GG(8)

D.Z.B.(10)
typed 10.10.47

TELEGRAM G.T.C. (62) (DY.NO.77-G.G.R/47).

55.

From: Private Secretary,
Buckingham Palace, London.

To : P.S. to Governor General India.

No.345-R.

Dated 15th (recd) 16th October 1947. TOO Nil
TOR 1145

IMMEDIATE.

P&S No (61). YOUR TELEGRAM 38-G.G.I. OF OCTOBER 9TH. THE KING APPROVES OF THE PROPOSED APPOINTMENT OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO INDIA.

Distribution:-

CGGS
PSGG.
DPSGG.
CON.SEC.

PRESS ATT.
G. BRANCH.
LOG.

(63). -170-

TWB/20x FUR RY

SECRET.
No. 8715.

Telegram O.T.P. No. 8715 Dated 18th October 1947.

From.....Foreign, New Delhi.
To.....Indembassy, Moscow.
(Repeated Indiadel, New York for Mrs Pandit)

S.No. (57).

Indiadel, New York for Mrs Pandit.

Your telegram No. 23 September 30th (.)

2. Government of India are pleased , with approval of His Majesty the King, to accept nomination of KIRIL VASILEVITCH NOVIKOV as Soveit Ambassador in India (.)

3. Please inform Soviet Government accordingly (.)

=====

PS to PM(2), Pt Br(3), Estt Br, SG, JSX, JSE, JSC, DSE, AS(Pt), CR Wing(Secy & Jt Secy), Cabinet Secy

DM*
18th October.

TELEGRAM O.T.P. (64) -171- SECRET

13968

D. 2957. Eur 47.

From.....Indembassy, Moscow.
To.....Foreign, New Delhi.
Repeated Indian Embassy Washington for retransmission to India Delegation No. 7 for Mrs. Pandit.

No. 35 T.O.O. 2225
Dated 20th (recd. 21st) October 1947 T.O.R. 0800

.....

Your telegram 8715 dated 18th October regarding NOVIKOV. I have informed Soviet Government as instructed. Deputy Foreign Minister said he would intimate to me later date for simultaneous publications in India and here.

.....

PS to PM:(2) PT Br:(3) EUR Br:(3) SG: JS(X): JS(E): JS(C): DS(E)II: AS(PT): C.R. Wing (Secy: & Jt Secy:) Cabinet Secy:

PJN *
21/10/47

TELEGRAM O.T.P. SECRET
14150

(65)

-172-

D2993-A-Sup/47

EUR (2) PM BR 27/X

From.....Indembassy, Moscow.
To.....Foreign, New Delhi.
No. 38
Dated (and received) 23rd October 1947. T.O.O. 1030
T.O.R. 1715

S/No.(64)

Please refer to my telegram No. 35 dated October 20th. Soviet Government have intimated that Mr NOVIKOV'S appointment will be published in the papers tomorrow in Moscow. Simultaneous announcement may be made in Delhi.

==========

GG TO PM(2) PT BR(3) EUR BR(2) SG JS(X) JS(E) JS(C) JS(E II) AS(PT:) C.R.WING(SECY: & JT:SECY:) & CABINET SECY:

Z.B.(19)*
Typed 25.10.47.

(66)

CONFIDENTIAL -173-

8907

Telegram Grade 'C' No. 8907 dated 23rd October 1947.
From.....Foreign, New Delhi.
To.....Indembassy, Moscow.

.....

Pai from Menon.

Your telegram No. 35, dated 20th October. Simultaneous publication in India and foreign capital has so far been arranged only regarding establishment of diplomatic missions. It has not been our practice to arrange for simultaneous publication of the names of individuals appointed as diplomatic representatives. We have published name of our representative when "agreement" of foreign country was received. We have left it to foreign Government concerned to publish name of its representative at its convenience and only notified actual presentation of credentials.

2. In any case Novikov's appointment has already been picked up by local press from announcement made by Moscow radio.

.....

PS to PM:(2) EUR Branch:(3) PT Branch:(2) SG: JS(X): JS(E): JS(C): Secy: & Jt Secy CR Wing: DS(X): DS(E II): AS(PT): and Cabinet Secretary:

PJN*
24/10/47

D. 3247- Eas/47-174-

(D.O No. F 26-P/47)

(67)

EMBASSY OF INDIA,
MOSCOW

23rd October, 1947.

My dear Sir Girja Shankar,

→ S.No.(63)

Your telegram of 18th October conveying the Government of India's acceptance, with the approval of H.M. the King, of the nomination of K.V. Novikov as the Soviet Ambassador in India was received here on Sunday, the 19th. I called on Malik, the Deputy Foreign Minister the next morning and handed him a copy of our reply in terms of paragraph 2 of your telegram. He commented on the phrase "with the approval of H.M. the King" and asked whether it was essential that the King's approval should be obtained. I explained the present constitutional position to him briefly.

At our conversation Malik asked if it was the usual practice to make an announcement simultaneously in the two capitals. When I stated that that was the usual practice he said he would let me know later on the date on which Mr. Novikov's appointment can be simultaneously published in Moscow and Delhi. I telegraphed accordingly to you on the same day. It was therefore embarrassing to hear on the A.I.R. on the 22nd morning that Mr. Novikov's appointment had already been published in India. I do not know if the Soviet Foreign Office also heard this announcement, but whether it was significant or accidental, I was rung up within a few hours of the A.I.R. announcement and told that the Soviet Government proposed to make the announcement on the 23rd, i.e. today. I therefore sent you an immediate telegram yesterday asking that simultaneous publication may be made in India. I hope the message was received there in time to arrange for the publication this morning. In any case as the AIR had already announced it, the shortness of notice

given by the Soviet Government would not matter and I advisedly refrained from commenting on it.

I am glad that the Soviet Foreign Office has not so far commented on the circumstance that an announcement was made in Delhi in advance of their nomination of date for simultaneous publication.

Yours sincerely,

AVPai

(A.V. Pai)

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai,
Secretary-General,
Ministry for External Affairs &
Commonwealth Relations,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

No.F.26-P/47

(68) 176-D.3246-Eur/47

101

EMBASSY OF INDIA,
MOSCOW

25th October, 1947.

My dear Pam,

S.No(66).

Many thanks for your telegram No. 8907 dated 24th October regarding simultaneous publication of Novikov's appointment as Ambassador in India.

Malik asked me whether it was the usual practice to arrange simultaneous publication and I agreed because I was not then aware that it was not the practice to do so. Anyhow no harm has been done. My letter to Secretary-General dated 23rd October was written before receipt of your telegram. I was afraid that the announcement over the A.I.R. was official. I am glad to see from your telegram that they had themselves picked it up from the Moscow Radio!

S.No(67).

Yours sincerely,

A.V.Pai

(A.V. Pai)

P.A. Menon, Esq., I.C.S.,
Joint Secretary,
Ministry for External Affairs &
Commonwealth Relations,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

(69).

Extract from the letter of Mr.A.V.Pai,Charge d' Affaires,Embassy of India,Moscow,No.5/PA/MIN/47,dated the 27th October 1947, addressed to Sir G.S.Bajpai. —177—

* * *

The most important event during the last week so far as we are concerned has been the announcement in local papers of the appointment of K.V.Novikov as the first Soviet Ambassador to India. His appointment has been generally well received in the diplomatic circles here,who consider that he is a good choice as he is one of the ablest and most influential members of the Foreign Office. He was the Secretary -General of the Soviet Delegation at the last meeting of Foreign Ministers in Moscow. There is speculation here whether he will now go to the next ~~meeting~~ meeting of the Foreign Ministers which is expected to be held in London on 25th November.